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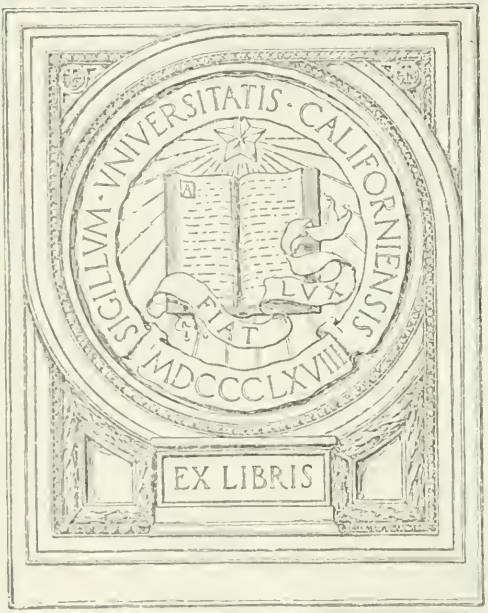

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"Wars of Succession. Portugal and Spain 1826 to 1840 W. Bollaert"
PLAN
of the
MILITARY LINES
at the
SIEGE OF OPORTO
1832-3.
Scale.
Note.
The Constitutionalist Batteries are numbered 1 to 54.
The Miguelite Batteries A.Z to A16.
See Page 263 _ Vol. 1 for details
LINES OF THE CONSTITUTIONALISTS
LINES OF THE MIGUELITES
HELD BY THE MIGUELITES
OPORTO
RIVER DOURO
Villa Nova
Works of the Barra
Serra do Pillar HELD BY THE PEDROITES
Common of Arreteia
Road from Villa do Conde
Road of Matozinhos
Road to Vallongo
Road to Avintes
Foz
Fort Castro
Oliveira
Stanford's Geographl Estabt London

THE

WARS OF SUCCESSION

OF

PORTUGAL AND SPAIN,

FROM 1826 TO 1840:

WITH RÉSUMÉ OF THE POLITICAL HISTORY OF PORTUGAL AND SPAIN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

BY

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v. 1

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WAR OF SUCCESSION OF PORTUGAL.

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Religious and civil persecutions in England drove many of her best citizens to the wilds of North America; and when they had, after severe trials, laid the foundation of rising colonies, they were visited with taxation they had not been led to expect at the commencement of the reign of George III., which brought about the War of Independence of 1776.

In 1778, Louis XVI. assisted the revolted colonists against England, when many of his subjects were allowed to join their revolutionary army. Spain also had allied itself with the American insurgents.

At the peace between England and America in 1782, and recognition of the independence of the revolted colonies, now called the United States,* this successful example of popular will in the working and amelioration of government, stirred the French people to seek how they might obtain a more rational system of rule, for they had only, in 1780, procured the abolition of torture in judicial proceedings. The despotic government of the later sovereigns, the haughty conduct of the nobles, and the mind-depressing power of the Romish Church ; all this, by taking the great majority of the good things of life to themselves, and leaving so little to the real producers of wealth, brought about, in 1789, the commencement of the most sanguinary revolution on record—Louis XVI. being beheaded by a maddened people in 1793.

Out of this revolution arose Napoleon, the most extraordinary man of modern times: he ruled France, and subdued for a time many nations. As regarded Spain, the occupation of that country by his armies was not of any duration, but long enough to lead to the severance and independence of the Spanish colonies from the mother country.† Turn we to Portugal—the Prince Regent (son of the nearly insane Queen Donna Maria I.), afterwards

* The Anglo-American colonies advanced in prosperity and free institutions, until their oppression by the British Government drove them to rebellion and independence, giving rise to one of the most wonderful nations of the world.

† The people of the Spanish American Republics were hampered by the disadvantages of ignorance, hereditary bigotry, and superstition, bad elements for a Democracy.

John VI., having refused to enforce the Berlin decree by closing his ports against England, Napoleon made Spain enter into a treaty of partition of Portugal with him, and sent at once 30,000 men through Spain to take possession of his country, publishing at the same time the bombastic edict, that the House of Braganza had ceased to reign in Europe!* The Portuguese Court retreated to its beautiful Brazilian colony with some 15,000 followers, November 29th, 1807, and on the 30th the French army, under Junot, entered Lisbon.

England now ordered Sir Arthur Wellesley with an army to Portugal, when, on the 17th August, 1808, his first success against the French, under Laborde, was at Roliça; on the 21st he beat the same general at Vimeiro, which led to the sometimes so-called disgraceful Convention of Cintra, signed by Sir Hew Dalrymple, allowing Junot and over 24,000 men to evacuate Lisbon in English ships.†

On the fall of Napoleon, Brazil was raised to the rank of a kingdom, and John VI. was crowned at Rio in 1818. Portugal was but indifferently governed by a regency. In July, 1821, John VI. returned to Portugal with 3,000 dependents, promising to uphold the constitution in the mother country, which meant Liberals *v.* Absolutists, leaving his eldest son, Dom Pedro, as his viceroy in Brazil, which had forced the king to give it a constitution.

Subsequently John VI. was ill-advised in trying to

* Napoleon also said: "The Bourbons have ceased to reign in Europe;" but it took to the period of 1868 to remove the last, in Isabella II. of Spain.

† Napoleon agreed with the Duke of Wellington that the Convention of Cintra was disadvantageous for the cause of England, and that Junot, even after Vimeiro, had still the means of prolonging the contest. Napoleon conferred the title of Duc d'Abrantes on Junot, which title was something like bitter fruit of the French expedition to Portugal.

reduce Brazil to a colony; this was immediately resented, when the country declared itself independent, and named Dom Pedro, in 1825, its constitutional emperor.

John VI., finding himself again in possession of the throne of Portugal, wished to lead a pacific life, and, under judicious guidance, would have settled down with the constitution so much desired by patriotic Portuguese. However, his queen, Donna Carlotta Joaquina, daughter of Charles IV. of Spain, became the daring and despotic ruler of the country, in which she was aided by many of the old nobility and the body ecclesiastic generally, forming the "Governo assoluto e fradesco," or absolute and monkish government.

Dom Miguel, now about twenty years of age, the Queen's second son, was named commander-in-chief, and he seconded the views of his mother. The Constitutionalists (or Liberals) in Portugal, who had commenced the organisation of free institutions in 1820, now became very active, and even offered armed resistance to the Government (or Apostolic) party, particularly at Villafranca, in 1823.

Towards the close of January, 1824, the King resolved to pass the carnival at the palace of Salvatierra with Dom Miguel and a portion of the court. It was arranged by the Absoluto party that there must be one especial victim, and that a fellow named Leonardo should perform the act after the performance at the theatre, which adjoined the palace; so the Marquis of Loulé,* an old and devoted friend of the king's, and a liberal-minded man, was assassinated at Salvatierra, the 29th February, 1824, an act which the king

* His son, the present Duque de Loulé, became the husband of the Infanta Donna Ana; she died in 1857. He was by the side of Dom Pedro during the defence of Oporto, and has continued to be an important personage in Portugal.

himself called the "tenebroso crime," the dark crime. All the patriotic men of importance were to be got rid of, including the diplomatic veteran, the Marquis Palmella; the Conde de Saldanha,* the grandson of the great Pombal,† and champion of Constitutionalism; the persecuted Conde Villa-Flor, and others, preparatory to forcing the king to abdicate in favour of Dom Miguel.

Misrule continued; there was conspiracy and rebellion on the part of the Queen and her adherents; when the King escaped from his palace the latter end of April, 1824, taking refuge on board the 'Windsor,' English man-of-war, Lord Beresford being the monarch's staunch friend on this, as well as on many other occasions.‡

Dom Miguel was sent for by the King and detained.

* Saldanha was the first to proclaim in 1820 the Constitution adopted by the Spanish Cortes. After the Peninsular War, he went to Brazil, where he held high military and Government offices. Returning to Lisbon in 1822, he found the garrison in open mutiny, caused by the despotism of the Queen, which he quelled; he opposed the Miguelite party, and calmed a popular movement. On 31st May, 1823, he was prominent in inducing the King to sign a Liberal proclamation; but the Absoluto party was too strong for him, Palmella, and other patriots.

† Lafayette's opinion of Pombal:—"A été un grand homme, mais un grand despote." Metternich's:—"A été un grand homme d'etat, mais il a trop donné dans les idees du XVIIe Siècle."

‡ William Carr Beresford, for his great services in the Peninsula, was created a Portuguese Field-Marshal, Duque de Elvas, and Marques de Santo Campo; also a British Peer, with the title of Baron Beresford. In 1814 he was sent on a mission to Brazil, returning to England the following year. After a visit to Portugal, he went again to Brazil, but shortly came back to Portugal, when he resumed the command of the army there. He resigned this post at the end of a few years, not approving of the efforts then being made to establish a Constitutional Government. From 1828 to 1830 he was Master-General of the Ordnance. He continued to take an active part in Tory politics. In 1826 he assisted in sending English troops for the support of Dom Miguel, for which he was afterwards deprived of his rank of Portuguese Field-Marshal. He died January, 1854.

He was banished from Portugal on the 13th May, going away in the frigate 'Perola,' remaining absent about four years.*

Portugal for a time was allowed to breathe a somewhat purer political air.

John VI., full of sorrow, now rapidly broke down, and died in Lisbon 20th March, 1826, leaving his crown to his eldest son, Dom Pedro, the Emperor of Brazil, who was proclaimed King Pedro IV. of Portugal, in conformity with John VI.'s decree of 13th May and edict of 5th November, 1825, Dom Pedro's sister, Donna Isabel Maria, acting as his Regent with a Junta. Dom Pedro abdicated his right to the Portuguese crown in favour of his eldest daughter, Donna Maria, May 2nd of same year, giving a charter of constitution to Portugal, which was enthusiastically promulgated, particularly by Saldanha, the then Governor of Oporto, recognising the Infanta Isabel Maria as Regent. This charter became the law of the land, to maintain which so much blood was to be shed.

Although Donna Isabel was the regent for Donna Maria, the old Queen—often styled the *mão-occulta* (hidden

* During the disordered period of Dom Miguel's power a minister named Pamplona (Conde and Marquis Subserra) mainly managed affairs. This individual and his wife had come to Portugal with Massena, consequently sympathised, or had to do so, in favour of French occupation, and appeared at one time to have considered themselves as Vice-King and Queen. In regard to the wife, the following appeared about her in 1824: —"Isabel travessa Não Hoste Rainha, Mas Hoste Condessa"—Isabel, the naughty, if you did not become a queen, still turned out a countess.

Baron Hyde de Neuville, the French Minister, was made Conde de Bemposta, and Sir Edward Thornton Conde de Cassilhas, with a domain from the Crown for three lives.

Sir Wm. A'Court succeeded Thornton, and upset the Pamplona Ministry, Neuville retiring to Paris. It was now that arrangements were made for the recognition of Brazil.

hand)—and her Absolutist camarilla, had nearly all the power of the State.

Saldanha was lured at this period from Oporto to Lisbon to be Minister of War, but his office was made so unpleasant to him that he shortly resigned.

Soon afterwards the Liberals, with the old cry of "Arrayal" (to the field), headed by Saldanha and Villa-Flor,* and the Government, which had become completely Absolutist, came to blows in various parts of the country, when a large number of Government troops under Conde Amarante had to fly from before the Liberals into Spain (the Government of which country fully sympathised with the despotic doings in Portugal), scarcely knowing for whom they were fighting, whether for the Regency, the old Queen, Dom Miguel, Dom Sebastian (a Spanish Infante), or for Conde Abrantes, now Marques de Chaves, whose insurrection took place on the 6th October, 1826, when he was saluted as Manuel II. by his supporters. Villa-Flor defeated Chaves at Ponte de Prado, causing him much loss.

So desperate was the state of affairs that, on the 3rd December, the Princess Regent solicited the assistance of England, and on the 17th troops were sent to Lisbon.

Canning on this occasion asked, had a *casus fœderis* arisen? He decidedly believed it had. Bands of Royalist deserters, the tools of Dom Miguel, having been equipped in Spain, had invaded Portugal. "We go," he said, "to plant the standard of England on the well-known heights of Lisbon. Where that standard is planted, foreign dominion shall not come." Portugal was saved. France,

* Villa-Flor had been imprisoned in Belem Castle in 1824, afterwards at Peniche.

the real principal, was cowed; no blow was struck, nor a life lost.

In 1826-7, Dom Miguel was at Vienna, when the Court of Austria, in particular, was anxious that he should have something to do in the affairs of Portugal. Dom Miguel took the oath of fealty in Vienna, October 4th, 1826. After much diplomatic strategy, Dom Pedro consented that his brother, Dom Miguel, should return to Portugal as his lieutenant, during the minority of Donna Maria, who was affianced October 29th, 1826, to him as Donna Maria II., Queen of Portugal.

Dom Miguel visited London in December, 1827, arriving in Lisbon, February 22nd, 1828, and took the oath as Regent. He had come from the Absolute schools of the north—was anything but well received, although he had solemnly sworn to defend the Constitution.

In a short time, and under the guidance of his mother, the Queen, the Constitution was abolished, and the charter burnt in the public square. Requisitions poured in from the Apostolic party, urging Dom Miguel to occupy the throne instead of Donna Maria.

The promises Dom Miguel had made to Dom Pedro—to the Courts of Austria, England, and France—were at once put aside. He dissolved the Three Estates, and allowed himself to be called King of Portugal. Even under these circumstances, it is thought by many, in and out of Portugal, that had he given to the country a moderately constitutional form of government, with no persecution of the Liberals, a majority of the people would have supported him in his usurpation. However, his party hailed him as "Nosso Ré assoluto," and he acted as one.*

* The Absoluto partizans were strong in Portugal. It was Metternich who arranged, in conjunction with the Carlists in France and Tories in

In May, 1828, Oporto was in revolt against Dom Miguel's assumption of the Crown. On the 28th the Provisional Junta issued a manifesto in the name of Dom Pedro IV., in which the details of Dom Miguel's usurpation were fully set forth. The Colonel of the 6th Regiment was ordered to be arrested by the Lisbon Government, when his officers and men assembled in disorder in the Campo da Regencia, giving *vivas* for Pedro IV., and *death* to the Miguelites. The revolution broke out before its time, but the Junta, organised by the Liberals of Oporto, was adhered to by the neighbouring provinces, and a small army was formed. The arrival in Lisbon of the news of these proceedings produced a panic, and it is said that had the Liberals then had experienced leaders, they might have entered Lisbon and overthrown Dom Miguel.

The Liberals advanced slowly on the road to the capital, under a valiant officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Schwalbach, a German, so as to give time (for there had been great delay) for their chiefs, Saldanha, Palmella, Stubbs, Sampaio, Villa-Flor, Azeredo, Baron Rendufe, C. J. Xavier, Soura, Condes of Taipa and Calharis, and others to come from England, France, and Belgium, whence they had emigrated. Schwalbach had a brush with the advance of Dom Miguel's army, near Coimbra, and then came back to Oporto.

The chiefs, who had now arrived, it is generally

England, for Dom Miguel's return to Portugal as Regent, and that he should marry his niece, Donna Maria. Saldanha advised Dom Pedro not to enter into these views, for, Dom Miguel once Regent, he would usurp the Crown. Saldanha's envoy arrived in Brazil two days after Dom Pedro had signed the Regency and marriage arrangements. Saldanha resigned the Ministry of War, and left for England. Dom Miguel returned to Lisbon, and twenty-nine days afterwards he declared himself King. However, Oporto became the focus for the Liberals.

reported, seeing so small a force, and not being agreed amongst themselves, retired in great haste from Oporto, as did the Junta and principal citizens; this was in July, 1828. General Pizarro, who commanded the retreating Liberal troops, deposited his arms at Orense, in Galicia, and marched to Ferrol, whence he embarked for England.*

General Povoas became the Miguelite governor of Oporto, but he was too lenient, and was superseded.

Donna Maria left Brazil for Lisbon, ignorant of what was going on in Portugal against her; but ere she got to the Tagus she was informed of the deplorable situation of affairs, so continued her voyage to England, arriving at Falmouth 24th September. She was received as Queen at Windsor, by George IV., December 22nd.

Dom Miguel had amongst his advisers the Bishop of Vizeu, and the Conde de Bastos, denominated by the Liberals as two old "pirronicos"—stolid in their bigotry; amongst their views was an intense hatred of foreigners,†

* The Junta, composed of lawyers, made Palmella, the diplomatist, commander-in-chief. The Liberal army consisted of some 7,000 men. Saldanha wished to make a stand in Oporto; this the Junta opposed. Had all the military portion of the Portuguese, who had emigrated to England, France, and Belgium, been allowed by the Governments of those countries to have gone to Oporto, Saldanha could have held the place and much more against Dom Miguel; but the Legitimists were in power in France and the Tories in England, and they prevented this. Then there was a rivalry between Palmella and Saldanha, pen and tongue *v.* sword. Still, it may be a question whether the right moment had arrived in 1828 to do what was done by Dom Pedro in 1831-2. The Brazilian Minister in London put a vessel at Saldanha's disposal; but there was a *detention of fourteen days!* Saldanha and his party got at last to Oporto; but all was lost, for the Liberals had been beaten by the Miguelites at the Cruz de Mourocas. Saldanha and his followers returned to England.

† The English, in particular, were the "foreigners." These had come to the assistance of Portugal whenever required; they had turned Napoleon's armies out of the country; they had given peace to the land, and helped to preserve the crown to the House of Braganza.

and they held the Liberals as heretics and "pedreiros libres"—Freemasons. The Liberals called them two of hell's furies, having for their colleagues those imps of Satan, the monks.

Two inhuman tribunals were formed, called "Alçada," —judicial commissions — one in Lisbon, the other in Oporto, to discover, judge, and sentence the unfortunate Liberals. The prisons were soon filled with men, women, and children; and in the public library at Oporto there is a list of 8,247 prisoners of the Alçada of that place.

The 4th Regiment was disarmed in Lisbon, and several composing it were shot. Monkish tribunals were even erected to investigate the conduct of their own fraternity, when those of Liberal tendencies were incarcerated in their own convents.

Regiments of royalist volunteers were peremptorily ordered to be formed all over the kingdom. Forty-eight regiments of militia were called out, and those who did not come willingly were punished; forced recruiting for the regiments of the line was carried on with great severity. The brigades were composed of troops of the line, militia and royalist volunteers, so as to watch over each other.

Forced loans were exacted, taxes were imposed—one of which was of about two shillings on each window of a house.

In April, 1828, the British troops were withdrawn from Portugal, and nearly all the foreign ministers left the country. Several Liberals were executed in Oporto—many imprisoned there; and at least 30,000 persons were confined in the prisons of Lisbon; also over 50,000 families were despoiled of means of subsistence on the score of politics.

The 6th March, 1829, was a day of mourning, when the following Liberals of importance were executed in

Lisbon, at the Caés do Sodré :—General Friere, the Señhores Braga, Perestrello, Pereira, Scharnichea, and Chaby ; others were deported to Africa. The 7th May ten of the foremost Liberals were executed at Oporto. Among these were Da Viega e Lima, De Brito e Cunha, Colonel da Louzã, De Madeiros e Vasconcellos. With these executions at Lisbon and Oporto the country was horrified. Many political prisoners were massacred through the priests going to the prisons of Elvas.

We now come to the heroic acts of the Liberals in the Azores, a chosen few without a name, wanderers and poor, having four-fifths of Europe openly or secretly their enemies. The first military affair of note was the daring attack by Colonel Torres—who had served as a captain of cavalry under D'Urban in the Peninsular War—with a small but determined force, on 7,000 of the enemy at Pico Celeiro, in the island of Terceira, the 28th October, 1828, which made him master of the island.

Saldanha left Plymouth, in command of a number of political emigrants, with the intention of landing at the island of Terceira, arriving there the 19th January, 1829. He was, however, prevented in his object by a British squadron, and made his way for the coast of France.*

The 8th March, 1829, Colonel Brito arrived at Terceira with two vessels filled with troops, including the volunteers of Donna Maria. The Conde Villa-Flor, having escaped from Lisbon, got there on the 22nd June.†

* Saldanha went to the Island of Terceira, in the English brig 'Suzana,' accompanied by the English brigs 'Lira' and 'Minerva,' and a Russian galley 'Delphim,' 640 officers and men. Commodore Walpole (under Tory orders) would not allow him to land, and after firing at the 'Suzana,' when a soldier of the 18th Regiment was killed, the expedition left for Brest.

† He subsequently went to Rio, and obtained assistance from Dom Pedro.

A Regency was now established in the name of the Queen Donna Maria II. At this period a Miguelite fleet of twenty-one vessels, with 6000 troops, came off Terceira. The Villa da Praia, five leagues from Angra, offered them a place of disembarkation, which was, however, ably defended by Colonel Menezes. On the 11th August boats from the fleet brought 1114 bayonets on shore; these were attacked at once, routed, and 389 prisoners were taken. A second landing was tried with 2670 men; these were also routed; after this the discomfited Miguelite Admiral Maritimo made the best of his way back to Lisbon.

We will now retrace our steps to the moment when Donna Maria, who had returned to Rio in August, 1829, again approached the shores of England, where she was received at Falmouth with Royal honours. When the frigate which conveyed her arrived, her conductors were acutely and painfully uncertain whether she would be received as Duchess of Oporto or as a Sovereign. Everything hung now on a few moments. But all was well. The Royal salute came thundering over the waters from the forts and ships, and up went the flags on every hand. Then up went the Royal Standard of Portugal, and the young girl and her retinue knew that she was acknowledged Queen by Great Britain. George IV. and the Ministers paid the child every attention; but still it continued to be urged that we could not actively undertake her cause; that we were bound by treaty to Portugal to protect her against external, but not internal enemies.

In this policy of abstention, Palmerston (then in Opposition) by no means concurred, and he more than hinted that Ministers, in their hearts, wished success to Dom

Miguel.* On the 1st June, 1829, Sir James Mackintosh brought forward a motion on the affairs of Portugal. Lord Palmerston, in a long and telling speech, pounded into Dom Miguel.

"The civilised world rings with execrations upon Miguel; and yet this destroyer of constitutional freedom, this breaker of solemn oaths, this faithless usurper, this enslaver of his country, this trampler upon public law, this violator of private rights, this attempter of the life of helpless and defenceless women, is, in the opinion of Europe, mainly indebted for the success which has hitherto attended him to a belief industriously propagated by his partisans, and not sufficiently refuted by any acts of the British Government, that the Cabinet of England look upon his usurpation with no unfriendly eye. In the opinion of many, this impression is confirmed by much which the Government have done, and by much which

* Tories *v.* Liberals. Legitimists *v.* the Masses on the Continent. 1865, July. On the occasion of the Westminster Election, Mr. J. S. Mill referred to Mr. Gladstone's definition of the above:—"Liberalism is trust in the people, limited only by prudence; Toryism is distrust of the people, limited only by fear." Mr. Mill observed:—"A Liberal is he who looks forward for his principles of government; a Tory looks backward. A Tory is of opinion that the real model of good government lies somewhere behind us in the region of the past, from which we are drifting further and further—that it lies in the subjection and dependence of the great mass of the community in temporal matters to the hereditary possessors of wealth, and in spiritual matters to the Church; and they oppose to the last moment anything that could possibly lead us away from this model. When beaten they may accept a defeat as a necessity of the age; but they still think good government means the restoration, in some shape or other, of feudal principles, and they continue to oppose all further progress in a new direction. A Liberal is something very different to this." But the Apostolical Absolutists of Spain and Portugal were very much worse than the Tories or Legitimists. When the Liberals of the Peninsula got a little fair play (with assistance from the Liberals in England, France, and Belgium), they were successful.

they have omitted to do. On the one hand, it is said that they have shown a great alacrity to back up his measures of war by their recognitions; and on the other, it is thought that they have displayed a very patient forbearance under indignities offered to England, in the persons of British residents in Portugal; while their steady refusal to interfere in cases in which their interference would have been prejudicial to Don Miguel has been contrasted with their promptitude and vigour to interfere when their interference was subservient to his projects. All these things, it is said, seem to show that they look upon his conduct and political existence with very different eyes from the rest of mankind, and appear to countenance the supposition that they have attempted by negotiation to give a legitimate sanction and permanent existence to his usurpation, and have even contemplated the project of delivering up to the keeping and custody of a man who has attempted to imbrue his hands in a sister's blood, that infant Queen whose life is one barrier between him and the throne which hecovets."* Donna Maria returned to Rio in August, 1829.

In 1830 Captain Charles Napier was sent by the Tory Ministry to the Western Islands, "to restrict lawless proceedings, particularly against British vessels." He observes that the obstinacy of Dom Miguel ("as well as the rank stupidity of his surroundings") in refusing an amnesty, had prevented his being recognised by the Duke of Wellington's administration.

About this time the celebrated "H. B." commenced his caricatures relating to Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel; one, November 5th, was "A Cabinet Picture," representing

* *Palmerstonism* (Tory view). The "*ism*" of Lord Palmerston: old-soldierism; soft-soap; lip-salve for the millions.—Charnock's "Verba Nominalia."

Wellington, the Premier, saying, "Having been obliged to recognise the King of the French, we must as a set-off acknowledge our friend Miguel. The Belgians—poor people!—not knowing how to take care of themselves, must be protected from the evils of independence!"

Two years were passed at Terceira, when the Liberals organised an expedition to the island of St. George, where the Queen's flag was hoisted the 9th of May, 1831. Galheatea was taken on the 11th, and Villa-Flor possessed himself of Fayal on the 24th June. St. Michael's was well fortified by the Miguelites, garrisoned by the 4th Regiment and militia, and also protected by a brig-of-war and a guarda costa. Villa-Flor left Terceira the 1st August with 1400 men, disembarking at Ladera da Velha. His enemy was well posted and entrenched on the Serra da Velha, 5000 strong, and had abundance of artillery. Villa-Flor advanced to the attack on the 2nd, when the enemy was at once routed, losing a very large number of their men in killed and wounded, the rest becoming prisoners. The Governor and his staff, with Admiral Prego, escaped to Lisbon.

If consternation was caused in Lisbon when it was known that the Liberals were in armed force in the islands, what must have been their dilemma when it was communicated that they were preparing for a descent upon Portugal?

However, Dom Miguel's land force of regulars was estimated at 80,000 line and militia, and 40,000 volunteers, making 120,000 bayonets; and his fleet consisted of fifteen men-of-war. It may be mentioned that at the end of 1830 his troops were seven months in arrears of pay, and Government paper was at thirty per cent. discount.

Early in 1831 a series of difficulties occurred in Brazil, particularly between the Emperor and the deputies: they

were so serious that on the 6th April there was an affray, at the head of which was the Democratic party. The Emperor at once resigned in favour of his son, then under age, who became Pedro II. He then retired on board the 'Warspite,' British man-of-war.

Dom Pedro took the title of Duke of Braganza, and left Brazil on board H.M.S. 'Volage,' Lord Colchester, the 13th April, accompanied by his wife, their daughter, and Donna Maria.

In a notice of Dom Pedro further on, some details will be given accounting for his abrupt departure from Brazil. The Brazilians had made him Emperor on Constitutional principles, and he had managed to reign some ten years. Love of military glory had led him into an unsuccessful war with Monte Video, which crippled his finances. Then the Liberals of Portugal looked to him for help; he had abdicated his rights to the crown of Portugal in favour of his daughter Donna Maria, but his brother Dom Miguel had usurped the throne, persecuting the Liberals; then the Liberal party in Brazil urged him to rule his country constitutionally, and when he told them "I will do everything for the people, but nothing by the people," he surely must have had his thoughts on the displacement of Dom Miguel and placing Donna Maria II. on the throne of Portugal, when at 2 a.m. of the 7th of April, 1831, he himself wrote out his abdication.

Passing the island of Fayal, he sent through the British Consul the following letter to the Conde Villa-Flor:—

"On board the frigate 'Volage,'
"30th May, 1831.

"My dear Count and Friend,

"In consequence of a revolution of the troops and

people which took place in Brazil, I have abdicated in favour of my son, now D. Pedro II. The crown which the Brazilians spontaneously offered me I defended as long as my honour and the Constitution permitted me; then I resolved to come to Europe, which I have done, on board the English man-of-war 'Volage.'

"After a voyage of forty-seven days, I find myself in sight of the port of the island Fayal, when I learn that Y. E., animated by the pure sentiments of fidelity and love for your country and the august person of the Senhora D. Maria II., my beloved daughter, has just succeeded in again triumphing in the cause of justice and reason, by supplanting the usurping power in the islands of S. Jorge and Pico.

"The Queen of Portugal, who left Rio Janeiro on the same occasion as myself, now goes to the port of Brest, in the frigate 'Seine.'

"As the natural guardian of my daughter, as a faithful Constitutionalist and affectionate friend of Y. E.'s, I take advantage of this happy occasion to give you a proof of my respect for so much valour and constancy; and my thanks for such heroic and continued sentiments of honour and fidelity in the sovereign cause of legal liberty; and in the name of her Most Faithful Majesty D. Maria II., I authorise you to make known to all the brave defenders of her undoubted rights the high consideration in which the same august lady holds their great services.

"Let me assure Y. E., and all honourable Portuguese, that I shall be untiring in promoting in Europe the interests of my daughter, and in favour of the cause of legitimacy and the constitution.

"D. Pedro de Alcantara
de Braganca e Bourbon."

Dom Pedro arrived in Europe, and visited the courts of France and England. He left his wife and Donna Maria in Paris; went to Belle Isle, when he embarked with troops on board his fleet* for the Island of Terceira; but before starting issued the following manifesto, under date 12th February, 1832, from on board the 'Rainha de Portugal':—

"Called to succeed my august father to the throne of Portugal as his eldest son, and by the fundamental laws of the monarchy, as laid down in the *Carta de Lei e Edicto Perpetuo, of 15th November*, 1825, I was formally recognised as King of Portugal by all the Powers and the Portuguese nation. . . . And that the independence of both countries (Brazil and Portugal) should not be compromised by the union of both crowns on one head, I decided to abdicate that of Portugal in favour of my daughter, D. Maria, who was equally recognised by all the Powers and the Portuguese people.

"In conformity with my august father's proclamation of 31st May, 1823, and *Carta de Lei*, 4th June, 1824, I promulgated the constitutional Charter of 29th April, 1826, in which was recognised the two fundamental principles, viz., that the laws should only be passed by the Cortes, and that the camara should be composed of the clergy and nobility. . . . Not to risk anything by the minority of my daughter, I thought the best I could do was the allying her to a Portuguese prince, even to my brother.

"This was the reason I selected D. Miguel; a most unfortunate occurrence, which many innocent victims have to deplore; the effects of which mark one of the most disastrous epochs of Portuguese history.

* On his arrival in France he found many to assist him voluntarily; one M. G. Malo or Maloque, a shipbuilder at Dunkirk, who put two armed vessels at his disposal.

"D. Miguel, after having sworn fealty to me as his natural sovereign, and to the Constitution; after having solicited to be the Regent of Portugal, which post I conferred on him under the title of my *Logar Tenente*, by decree of 3rd June, 1827; after having entered into the exercise of his functions, which he undertook to resign into the hands of D. Maria II. when of age, dared to commit unexampled acts.

"He commenced by convoking the three States of the Kingdom in a most illegal manner, and declared that the crown of Portugal belonged to him and not to me.

"The foreign Powers stigmatised this as an act of rebellion, and their ambassadors left Lisbon. Thousands were the victims who protested against such violence and illegality. . . . To sustain a government which was blazoned forth as one emanating from the wish of the people, it was necessary to erect scaffolds, on which perished a great number of patriots, who attempted to resist the atrocious yoke of usurpation. The prisons were filled; innumerable citizens were sent to the deserts of Africa, others had to expatriate themselves; this and much more has my country been suffering for over four years.

"The Island of Terceira offered an asylum to Portuguese liberty, and a deputation having come to me and my daughter from the Western Islands, in the name of the Regency, I resolved to leave Brazil and come among the loyal Portuguese.

"There shall be a general amnesty for all civilians and military who shall leave the usurping power. . . .

"I hereby declare that I am not going to take the horrors of a civil war to Portugal, but peace and reconciliation.

"D. Pedro, Duque de Braganca."

Dom Pedro was sure of the Liberals in Portugal and Spain, of the friendship of Louis Philippe, the citizen King of the French, of Leopold, King of the Belgians, and the Whigs were not always backward in supporting him. William IV. was now on the throne. The Tory papers—*John Bull*, *Morning Post*, *Age*, *Standard*—supported Dom Miguel. However, Louis Philippe gave to Dom Pedro the port of Belle Isle as a rendezvous for a fleet, which was quickly got together in England, to take him and his followers—Portuguese as well as foreign adherents—first to the Western Islands, thence to the projected conquest of Portugal.

About the 7th February were heard the first cries of "Death to Dom Miguel," the prisons were soon filled with Liberals, and seven were executed. In August there was a rising in Portugal in favour of Donna Maria, in which more than 300 lives were sacrificed, including some forty who were tried and shot.

Señor Mendizabal, a Spanish patriot, was one of Dom Pedro's most energetic and successful agents in England, procuring for him the sinews of war, ships, and an English naval captain, Sartorius, to command them, in December 1831; also such men as Hodges, Staunton, Burrell, Shaw,* an old 52nd and 90th, moreover a Waterloo man, and others to lead his English and Irish auxiliaries.

* Sir Charles Shaw, in a letter to the writer in 1865, states he left London for Belle Isle on the 12th December, 1831, with 300 officers and men, all of whom are now dead excepting himself. There were Portuguese about Dom Pedro who hinted to him that he might become Emperor of the Peninsula, and his daughter Queen or Vice-Queen of Portugal. According to Soriano ("His. do Cerco do Porto," v. 1.), before he left Paris, he went to his daughter's room, and said before those assembled: "Lady, here is a Portuguese General, who goes to defend your rights, and restore you to your throne." Also, that his own wish was to retire to Munich, and lead a country life.

The daring Mendizabal and his colleagues had much opposition thrown in their way by the Tory party in England, who espoused the political views of Ferdinand VII. and those of Dom Miguel.

Dom Pedro had his difficulties, one of which was, who should command the army: the pure Constitutionalists were for Saldanha, to whom Dom Pedro had promised the command. Dom Pedro, who was then in Paris, asked Saldanha, as a personal favour to himself, not to go with the expedition from Belle Isle, as Ferdinand VII. had declared, if he went, the Spanish Government would at once assist Dom Miguel with 50,000 men.* This, although most complimentary to Saldanha, was a heavy blow to him. Still he occupied himself in raising recruits. He had been for some time supporting himself in Paris mainly by his pen. Dom Pedro requested Soult to give him a French general, but no one could be induced, as was said, "to risk his reputation."

Saldanha published the following at once in the *National*, which was republished with another letter in a pamphlet:—

"Paris, 13th January, 1832.

"General Saldanha to his friends.

"H. I. M. Dom Pedro having called me to-day to a private audience, informed me that *La Diplomatie* prevents

* A great error was committed by Saldanha not being allowed to go with the expedition. There was an intrigue against him, headed by Villa-Flor and the Minister of War, Freire, which caused him to remain in Paris. Saldanha had the full confidence of the soldiery in Portugal, and had he been in command, his name alone would have caused many to leave the standard of D. Miguel. He also would have had the full confidence of the foreigners who went to fight for Da. Maria. It was even reported to D. Pedro that Saldanha wanted a Republic for Portugal.—"La Vérité sur l'expedition de D. Pedro." Amsterdam, 1832, pamphlet par un Officer Volontair, Chas. E. Fauche.

my taking part in the projected expedition to re-establish in my country the *Charter*, and the throne of the Queen Donna Maria II.; and that in consequence of such opposition, H. I. M. cannot employ me in the said expedition. Having counted up to this moment, and with the greatest anxiety, for this occasion to serve, the blow I have just received is the greatest that could have fallen upon me; but I shall be able to support this grief, if my friends will have the goodness to believe in the unchangeableness of my sentiments, and in my goodwill.

"Conde de Saldanha."

Then follow José da Silva Passos' observations of 15th January:—"Here it is seen he was obstructed. By whom? We do not know; but probably by one of the principal European Governments (Spain). Never was a greater honour. We condole with the Queen. Saldanha has our homage. It seems that in 1827 the Portuguese Ministry promised Spain that Saldanha should never be in the Ministry again. Is the Conde to be sacrified for his loyalty to Donna Maria? It is a useless crime. Your crown is safe from traitors. Oporto will defend her rights, like unto another Saragossa Numancia, and Sagunto. Lisbon will help us. You are to be our Queen, or the others will have to reign over our graves. Call to your side the loyal Conde de Saldanha, as the heroic Margaret of Anjou called Lord Percy. Dom Miguel must fall; soon shall we return to our beloved land. Out on Saldanha's calumniators, and infamous enemies of the Queen and liberty."*

* The pamphlet containing these letters and other matters was printed in Paris by Auguste Mie. R. Joquelet, No. 7, Place de la Bourse, 1832. I am obliged to my friend, Dr. Hyde Clarke, for perusal of two volumes of pamphlets connected with Portuguese affairs of this and previous periods.

By superior order, F. de Almeida, by circular of 18th February, invited nearly all the fidalgos then in Paris, also several general officers, to accompany Dom Pedro; however, such decided Liberals as Sir T. Stubbs, D. L. Cabreira, J. M. de Moura, and Correia de Mello were not allowed to go.

The French Government had violent correspondence with Dom Miguel, occasioned by fresh insults, and the ill-treatment of two French citizens in Lisbon; and until the matter should be arranged, several of his ships of war were taken possession of by the French, which was a well-arranged and favourable move for Dom Pedro.

On the 10th February, 1832, Dom Pedro sailed from Belle Isle for the Azores, with his fleet, composed of the 'Rainha,' 'D. Maria,' 'Amélie,' schooner 'Terceira,' and a transport, the 'Fileria.' Palmella went with the expedition.

It must be confessed that Dom Pedro had undertaken a great and most important task, no small portion of which was to conciliate many of those he had with him. There were some who did their best to persuade him that he was equally great as an admiral as a general. This brought him into collision with Sartorius, and led often to the honourable and straightforward endeavours of the admiral being unfortunately thwarted.

On the authority of Admiral Charles Napier, Dom Pedro, on his passage to the Western Islands, had not shown any partiality to his British auxiliaries; he had been persuaded by those about him that his presence in Portugal was alone necessary to the success of the Queen's cause, and Portuguese jealousy of foreigners, and consequent intrigue, began with the expedition, and continued throughout the arduous struggle.

At the island of Terceira, April 2nd, Dom Pedro pub-

licly assumed the Regency of Portugal on behalf of his daughter, Donna Maria II., and fealty was sworn to her banner.

The Regency had been composed of the Marquis Palmella, the Conde Villa-Flor, and Guerreiro.

Dom Pedro now appointed Palmella, Foreign Minister; Villa-Flor, Commander-in-Chief; Freire, War and Marine; and Mouzinho de Silveira for Finance and Justice.*

Silva-Carvalho had been a Minister of Justice; he was of opinion that not a hostile shot would be fired on Portuguese ground.

Mendizabal, a Spaniard, was really Finance Minister, banker, and one of the most useful men Dom Pedro had. He negotiated a loan under the greatest of difficulties in England. Few men possessed more talent for raising money than this active-minded man, and few knew less how to take care of it, or were more liable to be imposed on, by the numerous agents he was obliged to employ. The very nature of the service required the assistance of charlatans and intriguers, who distinguished themselves by the

* Napier's opinions of some parties connected with Portuguese affairs:—

The Marquis Palmella, well known in Europe as a statesman, had been the rallying point of the Liberals and the head of the Regency.

Villa-Flor was much thwarted by intriguers, who managed to get about D. Pedro. He was f too mild and kind a disposition.

Guerreiro remained unemployed and neglected.

Freire had been President of the Cortes, an ultra-Liberal; was a man of neither military genius nor talent; had everything to gain and nothing to lose.

Silveira had been imprisoned in St. Julian's, and was a man highly respected in his native country.

There were several influential men around D. Pedro, as Candido Xavier, his private secretary, a cunning old fox, who preferred that post to a portfolio. He had served in the French army against his country in the Peninsular war, and had been Minister of War before the return of D. Miguel.

honourable name of friends to the cause, and in this capacity they risked much and robbed more.*

Napier adds:—"From the moment the Emperor arrived in the islands, he evinced the most indefatigable activity. He was general and admiral; sometimes did harm, but he knew his countrymen; and, with all his faults, had it not been for his activity, the expedition never would have left the islands. He was the only Portuguese I ever saw who did not understand 'Amanha'—to-morrow."

* Ardoin in Paris, and Ricardo in London, through Mendizabal, negotiated a loan for Donna Maria, capital £2,000,000. Bonds of this had to be handed to the holders of Maberley's old loan; other bonds were put into the hands of Army and Naval Contractors to negotiate, which they did at 48. There were several financering and other siftings, so only £340,529 in cash was handed in, and 16 per cent., or £100,000 per annum, had to be paid on this loan. (Soriano, "His. do Cerco do Porto," I.)

CHAPTER II.

1832. British Government tries to open relations with Dom Miguel—Miguel and Absolutism, Pedro and Liberalism—Dom Pedro sails with his armament from the islands, lands at Oporto 8th July—Miguelites abandon Oporto—Dom Pedro's and Dom Miguel's proclamations—"H. B.'s" caricature—Shaw and his English followers first to plant Donna Maria's flag on landing—Schwalbach leads the van, and enters the city of Oporto—Political prisoners liberated—Dom Pedro's entry—Commencement of defence of the city—Sortie on Penafiel; retreat of Miguelite commander, Cardozo—Monks poison wine—Sortie on Valongo—Pedroites hard pressed, Dom Pedro decides on the attack—Battle of Ponte Ferreira—Dom Pedro master of the field, but Portonians doubtful of his ultimate success—Incendiary Miguelite Monks—Sartorius blockades Lisbon—Miguelites hope to starve Pedroites into surrender—Order of the Tower and Sword—Schwalbach's sortie on the Coimbra road—Retreat sounded instead of advance—Panic—Moral and physical courage—Three days' bombardment of the Serra Convent—Commencement of the Siege of Oporto, 8th September—Anxious moments—Three days' attack on the Serra Convent, defended by the veteran Torres—His sortie drives the enemy from Villa Nova—Miguelites now decide to besiege Oporto—Serra Convent—Sortie of 16th September by Bomfim—Col. Staunton killed—29th September, grand Miguelite attack—Obstinate defence, in which the English and French distinguish themselves—Col. Burrell killed—Miguelites retire some miles—Woolridge and Shaw, wounded, carried to the rear—Shaw returns with the colours—Again wounded and robbed—Oporto safe—Miguelite bombastic proclamation—Miguelite fleet comes before Oporto—Sartorius drives it off—Severe bombardment of the Serra—Attack repelled by Torres—Pedroite authors of the war, no Miguelite authors of importance.

In the beginning of June, 1832, the British Government sent Lord William Russell, Colonel Hare, and Lieut.-Colonel Badcock* to Portugal, to open with an old ally

* "Rough Leaves from Journal kept in Spain and Portugal by Lieut.-Col. Badcock." 1832-4.

those ancient relations which had been broken in upon during the usurpation of Dom Miguel; and it was supposed that a new order of things would restore our former position. This visit was also to ascertain if Spain had sent forces to Portugal, which it had not.

War has been called the malady of princes, particularly wars of conquest. Civil and religious wars are of various sorts; but this present one in Portugal had a positively twofold character. The usurpation of Dom Miguel represented old-fashioned, worn-out Portuguese despotism, of which their unbending Romish Church system was part and parcel, backed up principally by the absolute Governments of Ferdinand VII., Austria, Russia, Naples, &c.

Dom Pedro, the elder brother of Dom Miguel, acting for his daughter, the Constitutional Queen, around whose banner the Liberals of Portugal bravely rallied—this party found substantial sympathy from the Liberals in England and France. The Portuguese War of Succession was Absolutism and usurpation, *versus* a Constitutional form of government and the legal rights of Donna Maria II.

On the 20th June, Dom Pedro left the islands with forty-two sail of transports,* under the protection of the fleet commanded by Admiral Sartorius, composed of the 'Rainha de Portugal,' 46, Captain Crosbie, bearing the Admiral's flag; 'Donna Maria,' 42, Captain Mins (Bingham); 'Amélie,' Captain Bertram (Pryce), on board was Dom Pedro; 'Villa-Flor' brig 16; 'Tereeira,' 7, 'Coquette,' 7, 'Liberal,' 9, 'Boa Speranza,' 'Eugenie,' 10, and some schooners, manned principally by English.

The expedition came before Villa da Conde on the 7th,

* Care was taken to give high numbers to the transports, some being over a hundred.

and on the 8th July the fleet was at anchor in the Bay of Mindello, two leagues from Oporto, when the flag of Donna Maria was saluted by H.B. Majesty's ship 'Stag,' Sir T. Troubridge.

On nearing the shore the 'Donna Maria' hoisted the English flag, sending a boat to the Foz castle, purporting that it came from a British man-of-war, informing the Governor that the Pedroites amounted to over 30,000 men. At this the Governor posted off to Oporto to apprise the Visconde Santa Martha, José de Sousa Sampaio, Dom Miguel's commander, who must have believed the report, for he abandoned the city (then containing 100,000 souls) at once, retreating panic-stricken with 10,000 men across the Douro, leaving large supplies of arms and ammunition in the arsenal.

The Miguelite General José Cardozo's brigade was near to the shores of Mindello, to whom Dom Pedro sent one of his aides, Sá de Nogueira, with his proclamation, to accept the terms of it, or take the consequences of refusal. Cardozo refused "to treat with traitors." Dom Pedro issued the following :—

"Soldiers! These shores are those of unhappy Portugal. There your fathers, mothers, children, wives, relations, and friends are grateful indeed for your coming, and confide in your sentiments of valour and generosity.

"You come to bring peace to the entire nation, and war only to the usurping, hypocritical, and despotic Government. The enterprise is glorious, the cause just and noble, and the victory certain.

"Your companions in arms will come and strengthen you and be honoured by fighting by your side; and if there be some who continue to defend despotism, bear in

mind that you have before you the same deluded Portuguese who fled from your courageous presence at Villa da Praia.

"Conquerors of S. Michael and S. George! whose valour in the combats of Villa das Vellas, Urselina, and Galhetea, and of the Ladera da Velha, could not be restrained—there is your country; it calls on you; there you will find the reward of your labours, the end of your sufferings, the completion of your glory.

"Soldiers! Let your war-cry be—Long live Donna Maria II. and the Constitutional Charter. Your motto—Protection to the defenceless, generosity to the conquered.

"Dom Pedro, Duke of Bragança."

"Loyal inhabitants of the city of Oporto! The pleasing impression made on me by the truthful interest you have taken in the just cause of my august daughter, and the success of the Constitutional Charter, corresponds to the idea I had formed of your loyalty and patriotism, and of the adherence you have manifested this day to those two sacred principles and to my imperial person—such has penetrated deeply into my heart.

"Illustrious Portuenses, by your pacific conduct under such extraordinary circumstances, and the warmth of your patriotism, you have proved more than once that you are worthy of enjoying the benefits of a free and just government, and be sure that your hopes will not be deceived.

"Receive, then, faithful Portuguese, in the name of the Queen Donna Maria II., and in my own, the expressions of the liveliest gratitude: holding it for certain, that if your sacrifices have been great, greater will be the recompense awarded to you by history; and if you have been

victims of a sanguinary and ferocious despotism, a government of tenderness and justice comes with me to heal the wounds inflicted by oppression and tyranny.

"D. Pedro, Duke of Braganza.

"9th July, 1832."

Dom Miguel also issued proclamations to the army and to the people. In the former he said, "My brother, after having made war on my father, after having stolen Brazil, having cruelly expulsed Portuguese citizens;—then he himself was obliged to leave Brazil; now he has joined the rebel Portuguese in the unjust and shameful aggression against Portugal. Soldiers! our forces are far superior to those of our enemies, our valour is that of honourable Portuguese, our cause is that of religion, the throne, and national independence."

In that to the people of 11th July he called to mind their fidelity to his person, to religion; also that the rebels, in their untiring madness and false hopes, had dared to stain Portuguese territory.* . . "Let us save our religion, the nation. Run all to arms. Rise as one man; respect property, listen to the authorities, and help my brave army, of which I am at the head. Let the same

* One of "H. B.'s" (the elder Doyle, died Jan. 1865) caricatures in July, 1832, is entitled "A Battle Royal, or, a set-to for a Crown." *John Bull* says: "Come, gentlemen, it is time you should be at business." Talleyrand and Louis Philippe are in the background, looking on, when Liberal *Palmerston*, as bottle-holder, turning to them, says: "I think we have a fair chance if they don't interfere on the other side." *Dom Pedro* (throwing up his cap and looking at Dom Miguel): "Why don't you throw up your castor like me?" *Dom Miguel:* "Time enough, brother." (Has his cap on.) Tory *Wellington:* "Have at him, my jewel." *Earl Grey:* "Ab——n, I'll take you two to one." *Ab——n:* "Done." *A Conservative:* "If it should appear to be going against Miguel, let us rush in and have a general fight." *A Military Man:* "I say, keep back; don't break the ring." *Another ditto:* "I'll not break it, if they don't."

ardour be renewed in defence of the country and the throne as was shown in 1808 and 1828, then the country will be saved."

Sartorius landed Dom Pedro's army on the shores of the Bay of Mindello* in the space of ten hours, commencing at 2 p.m. on the 8th. The English were under the command of Colonel Hodges, Captain Shaw leading the advance guard.

There is a little discrepancy as to the number of men Dom Pedro had with him; Soriano says under 8300 men; another informant 7500; whilst a French officer, Fauché, gives 7775, composed as follows: the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 12th Caçadores, light infantry, 3000; the 3rd, 6th, 10th, and 18th of the line, made up of Miguelite deserters and prisoners from the islands, 2500; volunteers of Donna Maria, 858; academicos of Coimbra, 80; guides and cavalry—men only—40; sacred corps of officers, 70; French, Italians, Belgians, Germans, and Poles, called "Atiradores," 550; English, about 300; six pieces of artillery, with 150 men; the staff, 35=7775, and this in the face of some fifteen times their number! It was death or victory!

The Miguelites had it reported that Dom Pedro's brigands consisted of 500 English adventurers and 3,000 Portuguese, who would desert on knowing they would be pardoned; that his vaunted fleet consisted of two so-called frigates, a corvette, and three schooners. What impertinence! with such a force to attack 82,000 soldiers, and make war upon three millions of Portuguese, decided to defend their old laws and their country; it was madness.

Dom Pedro had ordered his, the 5th Caçadores, to plant the flag of Donna Maria; but Shaw says it was his English

* Where Dom Pedro landed, a small obelisk has been erected to mark the spot, at Arnosa.

who did it, which is corroborated by Fauché. The Portuguese give the credit to Villa-Flor. Shaw "took young Racket's firelock, and sent a ball whistling at the cavalry picket," and says, "I was the first man to pull a trigger in Portugal."*

Schwalbach, who commenced his career in the English 60th regiment, was promoted into the Portuguese army, married a Portuguese lady, and settled in the country; he fought for the Liberals in 1828, went to the Brazils and entered Dom Pedro's service; he was present at the capture of the Azores. This fine old officer commanded the right division by the sea-shore; Colonel F. Xavier the left by the interior, Dom Pedro bringing up the rear. This arrangement prevented the Miguelite General Cardozo's force uniting with his commander Santa Martha; so the former retired in some confusion upon Penafiel.

The march of the Liberals to Oporto the next day may be called an undisputed one. At 8 a.m. Schwalbach, commanding the van with the 2nd and 3rd Caçadores, entered the city, greeted by the acclamations of the populace, who, to use their own expression, "breathed the air of freedom after four years of suffering." The political prisoners were at once liberated. "The pitiless, mocking executioner, João Branco," was pierced by a dozen bullets.†

At noon, Dom Pedro, at the head of his devoted band, entered the city in triumph. He went to the Paços de Concello—town-hall—in the Praça Nova (now that of Dom Pedro), and appeared at the balcony with Palmella,

* Shaw's Memoirs, i., 380.

† T. G. Shaw. "Wine and the Wine Cellar, 1863," p. 116. "During the time of Dom Miguel's usurpation, the prison at Oporto was crammed so full that it was represented to the Governor—the notorious Telles Jourdão—that there was no space for more. 'Is it full to the ceiling?' he demanded.' 'No.' 'Then,' added he, 'don't tell me that it is full.'"

Villa-Flor, and others, when he gave the following vivas :— "For Donna Maria"—"The Charter"—"The heroic people of Oporto"—which were enthusiastically responded to ; after which he went to the palace of Moraes or Carrancas, as his future residence.

On the 10th the light division, under Schwalbach, crossed the Douro and cleared the front, obliging the enemy to retire a league on the road to Lisbon.

The Serra Convent on the opposite side of the river, as it commanded much of the city, was occupied on the 11th. Only three monks were found in this beautiful and picturesque edifice, who asserted that they had been immured there for the last three years, on suspicion of being Liberals, which story was not believed; but they were allowed to remain to take care of the convent.*

Dom Pedro had but little artillery, and no cavalry. He began at once to put the city into some state of defence, digging trenches across the streets, erecting breastworks and barricades, and sent for some guns and ammunition he had on board the fleet. The decided Liberals of the inhabitants enrolled themselves as volunteers at once.

As the greater portion of the Miguelite force had passed to the south of the Douro, Dom Pedro sought to get ground towards Braga, Guimaraes, and Penafiel, so as to obtain provisions, recruits, and horses. On a detachment going to Braga, it was found to be deserted. At Guimaraes, the Pedroites were well received, and joined by Manuel Lobo and a devoted band of Liberals, afterwards known as the battalion of the Minho.

* It was the general impression that the Serra Convent would not have been occupied if Colonel Hare, the British military commissioner, had not anxiously pressed it, it being at all times of the greatest importance to Oporto.

The first affair of the Pedroites, as a formal reconnaissance, namely, on Penafiel, three leagues from Oporto, was on the 17th July, when Colonel Hodges went out with his command—the Donna Maria volunteers, and other troops.

The Miguelite General Cardozo occupied the place with a force of 12,000 men. The Liberals advanced, boldly attacked Penafiel, and took it after a desperate defence, in which the armed monks fought hard. The enemy dispersed, leaving 200 in killed and wounded. The Pedroites, having fired the convent,* returned to the city on the 19th. Corporal Knight† says that fifteen men died of fatigue on the march to and from Penafiel.‡ After the battle at this place, Shaw was thanked for the manner in which he got possession of the convent and forced the enemy to retire.

Early on the morning of the 22nd there was another formal reconnaissance. A column of the Liberals, under Colonel Henriquez da Silva, marched and met the advance of the enemy on the Vallongo road. They first routed a body of cavalry, killing its commander; continuing the fight, the enemy were obliged to unmask their positions, and defend them. This reconnoitring party retired to the

* The Pedroite Volunteers, in particular, were actuated by a feeling of the most deadly hatred and enmity to the friars, "who had introduced sorrow and shame into their families."—Shaw i. 384.

† "The British Battalion at Oporto," &c. By Corporal Knight, K.T.S., formerly of the 95th Rifle Brigade. 1834.

‡ "We arrived at Balthar, three leagues from Penafiel, when the men had a ration of wine served out gratis. While in Spain I heard from the very best authority that this wine had been poisoned, and now I am inclined to believe the truth of it, as all who drank of it suffered more or less, and of the eleven who died, all were men who were given to drink. I, myself, took very little; yet I suffered. Until, however, I heard the reports, the idea of poison never entered my mind, thinking the deaths of the men arose from excessive fatigue; but, certainly, none except those who drank wine suffered."—Shaw's Memoirs, i. 386.

Rio Tinto, between Vallongo and Oporto, at which point they sustained some loss. Xavier, in command of the 5th Caçadores, after four hours' fighting, lost fifty of his men, and he himself was wounded. Dom Pedro, being informed of what had taken place, decided to attack on the morrow, with the whole of his disposable force of about 6000 men, the presumed number of 15,000 of the enemy, in their strong position of Ponte Ferreira, half a league from Vallongo. On the 23rd, at five A.M., three divisions were formed. At eleven A.M. the battle commenced. At two P.M. it was a severe general engagement. Seven hours the bloody fight continued of Ponte Ferreira, and when night came on Dom Pedro was master of the field, the Miguelites having fled by the Baltar and Penafiel roads. Officers and men were that day sincerely thanked by Dom Pedro on the field. That night Dom Pedro and his daring band rested on the victorious battle-ground. The two days' fighting, however, had cost over 440 of his soldiers in killed and wounded. The loss of the Miguelites was about 1200.

Whilst the action of the 23rd was going on, the Miguelites took the Serra Convent, but were shortly dislodged.

It is said that many of the people of Oporto proffered but little assistance to Dom Pedro at this time; maybe they did not know how to act, and many of them believed that the invaders must soon be driven away by the overwhelming numbers of their opponents. However, the handful of Dom Pedro's followers were at least of one mind, that of taking possession of Portugal, whilst the commanders of Dom Miguel's legions appeared to be in a hopeless state of uncertainty as to their course of operations.

The Miguelite monks set fire to the Convent of San Francisco, then filled with Pedroite troops, in the middle of the night, and it seemed to have been their intention to

burn the city down. These plans failed, when several were torn to pieces by the populace; one monk was shot. This act of incendiarism settled the question as to the suppression of the religious orders in Portugal. There were then in Oporto and Villa Nova no less than twenty-four monastic establishments.

Sartorius, having landed Dom Pedro and his army, sailed off to Lisbon to blockade that port, keep watch on Dom Miguel's fleet, and, if it came out, to attack it.

Schwalbach had some skirmishing on the other side of the river, and went as far as Grigo on the 27th.

It was now decided by Dom Pedro to abandon offensive operations generally, to fortify Oporto, and await the course of events. Admiral Napier observes:—

"In this undertaking the Emperor was unanimously supported by all parties. There was no intriguing here; the first law of nature—self-preservation—came home to all, and perhaps this is the only instance in the whole war in which honest men and intriguers perfectly agreed. Dom Pedro's Ministers ought to have been suspended on a gallows fifty cubits high for not removing the large quantity of wine from the stores of Villa Nova, for it was the only security he had for a loan of £200,000 Palmella had or was about to contract for in England. Subsequently the enemy destroyed the wine."

Dom Pedro lost no time in forming as best he could his lines of defence, which had anything but strong fieldworks and batteries. His enemy hoped so to place themselves as to cut off supplies, and thus starve him into surrender.

In the *Chronica Constitucional do Porto*, 5th August, 1832, having for its motto (from Camoes) "O Reino prospero floresce Em Constituigoes; Leis, y Costumes," are the names of those who were decorated with the order of

the Tower and Sword.* The Commission for recommending for the distinction was composed of Colonels Fonseca, Schwalbach, and Hodges. They recommended 24 decorations to the 5th Caçadores; 10 to the Artillery; 18 to the Volunteers of Donna Maria; 10 to the Marines (British),† for the sortie of the 22nd July, and the battle of the 23rd at Ponte Ferreira; the 2nd and 3rd Caçadores had 18; 3rd and 10th Infantry 18; Atiradores Portuguezes 12; and the 1st Battalion of Infantry 6. The Guias were also decorated. Corporal Knight was decorated with the order of the Tower and Sword for his distinguished bravery at Ponte Ferreira.

On the 7th August, Villa-Flor and Schwalbach, with 3500 men, crossed the Douro, going out on the Coimbra road some fourteen miles to oppose, as was thought, a moderate number of the enemy, under General Povoas, but they found some 9000; still, at them they went, and when in the thick of the fight a Captain Rebocho, of the 12th Caçadores, sounded a retreat instead of an advance—supposed by some to have been a mistake. This threw the Pedroites into confusion, and they got back to Oporto as well as they could. The Miguelites considered this a victory for their side, and say they put over 400 *hors de combat*. The Liberals give no account of their losses.

* The Order of the Tower and Sword, created by Alphonso V. in 1459 as a recompense for those knights who fought in Africa, restored by John VI., on his going to Brazil, and reorganised by Dom Pedro under the title of "The ancient and most noble order of the Tower and Sword of Valour, Loyalty, and Merit." It is divided into Grand Crosses, Commanders, and Knights; and is given for military and civil services, to Portuguese as well as to foreigners.

† When one of the Marines heard he had got the "Tower and Sword," he exclaimed: "What! clap a fellow in the Tower, and put him to the Sword."—"Naval Sketch Book." By Captain Glascock, R.N.

Rebocho was condemned to be shot, but his punishment was commuted to degradation and hard labour for life. He shortly committed suicide.

Palmella went off to England after this sad affair—the "triste scena en os Campos de Souto Redondo"—and it was believed he had instructions to treat with some British officers to command the troops, and to act on the Emperor's staff.* Bernado de Sá proposed to Dom Pedro that he should retreat to the Azores. Santa Martha made some cautious approaches towards Oporto; had he made a dash after the defeat of the Liberals at Souto Redondo Dom Pedro's position would have been most critical.

Sir Charles Shaw favours me with the following :—

"*Moral courage* in a soldier in the field, compared with physical courage, I have always calculated at 80 per cent. In 100 common soldiers nearly 25 per cent. have no courage, which will always be seen in night work.

"*A panic* is neither more nor less than human mental electricity. If in a flock of sheep one leaps over a bridge, all follow.

"Words and tones of voice affect soldiers. On the 7th August, 1832, when we were driven by the enemy from their lines at Oporto, I was ordered to move quickly up a road parallel with the one on which the enemy was retreating. I was double quick, trotting at the head of the Grenadiers.

* For much of the information as to the landing of D. Pedro, and the affairs of Penafiel, Vallongo, Villa-Flor's sortie on the Coimbra road, the writer is indebted to Mr. Sloane, an Irish gentleman, who was in the Pedroite Cadet Rifle Corps some time. He had joined the army in the Islands, and preferred being a full private volunteer than, as he said, to be "bothered" with a commission. He was decorated, early in the defence of Oporto, with the Tower and Sword. He subsequently became a colonel under General Evans in Spain.

Casting my eye to the right, I saw by a turn to the right I would catch prisoners, when Sergeant Ebrell, of the Grenadiers, called out in a loud voice, '*Colonel, the enemy are in our rear!*' The column, without my orders, came to a dead halt at the words, '*Enemy in the rear*,' and we lost two or three minutes; but they moved off quickly. Laughing, I called out, '*D——d fool, don't you see we are in* THEIR FRONT?' this momentary panic being caused by the words, '*Enemy in the rear*,' and destroyed at once by, '*Enemy in front.*'

"If soldiers get drunk with *Spirits*, they are mad, cruel, and mutinous:

"With *Beer* and *Ale*, stupid, careless, and useless:

"With *Wine*, very mischievous, merry, ready at repartee, and not mutinous.

"The Germans will stand any tyranny from the narcotics, beer and tobacco.

"A swearing, bullying commanding officer is worse than all. Lord Harris, of the 73rd, used to call to the men, 'D—n *your* eyes;' to the officers, 'D—n *me* eyes.'

"The best of all soldiers will almost all run to shelter not in *front*, preferring *rear*."

Dom Pedro found that the Miguelite forces were rapidly increasing, and that the enemy's fleet was destined to blockade Oporto; so he at once began to protect his position—preparatory in all probability to a long siege—increasing his lines of defence, and placing batteries at the extremities of the city. There was found in the arsenal fifty pieces of artillery, as well as balls, left by the enemy; with these, and others he got from the fleet and merchant vessels, he began to fortify his works. A voluntary loan of money was made to him; movable,

fixed, and provisional battalions were now organised, ready and willing to defend the city.

For three days—the 27th to the 29th August—the Serra Convent was unsuccessfully attacked. Major Bravo was its defender on this occasion, with some troops of the line.

COMMENCEMENT OF THE SIEGE.

The memorable siege and defence of Oporto commenced on the 8th of September. While it lasted, the Pedroites had to be on the watch day and night, particularly on the 3rd, 4th, and 5th of the month, believing they would be attacked in force, whilst they were not confident in their means of defence. There were moments that tried the nerves of the bravest soldiers. Villa-Flor was well on the alert, encouraging the soldiers, and aiding by example. Shaw, with the British, and some Caçadores, received the thanks of Villa-Flor for their untiring vigilance at the outposts.

We now come to the three attacks on the Serra do Pilar Convent and the lines, on the 8th, 9th, and 10th of September. The rough defences of the Serra were not completed when the attack of the 8th commenced, so promptly repelled by the Liberals. Bernardo de Sá Nogueira, who was outside, lost an arm, and had to retire upon the convent, now defended by the veteran Torres with a few troops and his Villa-Nova volunteers, who for their courage and determination obtained the name of Polacos. Dom Pedro was in the battery of the Seminario during the attack, aiding in the defence of the Serra with well-directed shot upon the enemy's columns. The Liberals lost thirty-eight men. Whilst this attack was going on, the Miguelites appeared in considerable force in front of Agua-ardente, Covello, and the Serio, when, after

seven hours' skirmishing, they had to retire with some loss. The besieged lost eleven. On the 9th the attack on the Serra was continued, on the same positions as on the preceding day. The Miguelites took the pickets of Paranhos and Casa Amarelha at the Antas, but soon had to give them up, having ten of their men killed and many wounded. Colonel Hodges, with 150 men, at a critical moment, came on the enemy's flank, making them retreat precipitately.

Shaw was severely contused on the right shoulder by a stone from a wall, driven by a cannon ball; his horse was also wounded.

On the 10th was the third attack on the Serra. The enemy came up to the trenches, when the Liberals rushed out and put them to the rout; only three Liberals were wounded, one being Celestino Maloque, a native of Dunkirk, who had come with a brother (these gentlemen have been already alluded to) and two of their vessels to assist the cause of Donna Maria. The same evening the enemy came again under the walls of the Serra, when Torres ordered a sortie; there was some severe fighting, but the Miguelites had to leave Villa-Nova. During the conflict of these three days, the wounded who were in hospital and could bear arms came out; the armed inhabitants rushed to the trenches, and Dom Pedro was to be seen at all the points of attack.

The Miguelites, seeing they could not now obtain possession of the city by storm, decided upon besieging it in due form; they erected more batteries, and in a few days their works were pretty complete.

Sir Charles Shaw gives me the following incidents in connection with the attacks on the Serra:—

"The Serra Convent was about the best position as a for-

tification, but it was on the eve of being abandoned, which Colonel Hare, the British Commissioner, prevented. It was surrounded with beautiful trees, which Major Bravo cut down, making what was, according to military rule, a great mistake; he left the thick stems, about four and a half feet high, his idea being that it was sufficient that he could see the approach of the enemy. The mistake, however, saved the convent (that is, Oporto).

"One afternoon I saw the enemy's columns forming for attack from my position at Bomfim, while their formation was, on account of the hollow, unseen by the garrison. I sent information at once across the river to Torres, and also to the Emperor and Villa-Flor in the town. Just as they arrived, the three enemy's columns moved onwards. The first column went beautifully forward, with the Colonel flourishing his sword at their head. The stems of the trees were about thirty yards from the Serra works. They marched steadily about one hundred and fifty yards, I really thinking they would walk into the garrison; but the fire was so very heavy upon them as they approached the stems that the head of the column broke and sheltered themselves *behind the stems*, so the next leading company halted, and then broke, and the column ran away. The next column advanced, however, boldly; but, as they showed themselves, seeing some of the first column *behind the stems*, their leading company ran forward to avoid the heavy fire, and the column broke, and ran away. The third advanced boldly; but the leading men (the bravest), when the fire was heavy, could not resist the *temptation shelter*, and bolted behind the stems. On the enemy's retreat, these brave fellows were taken prisoners. Seeing this gave me the *idea of safety traps for brave men*, which I

practised with perfect success on the 25th July (the following year) *at Lordello.*"

The object of the sortie of the 16th September on the enemy's camp from Bomfim was to destroy their works in front of the Serra in Lindo Valle and Agua-ardente. The Liberals marched out in three columns, when in less than an hour several of the enemy's fortifications were disabled. The Miguelites now advanced in great numbers, when fighting commenced, which lasted until eight at night; the enemy, it is supposed, lost 700 in killed, wounded, and prisoners. Dom Pedro's loss was 151, 20 being officers, and amongst the killed was the universally regretted Colonel Staunton. The English and French did good work on this day. Of those who distinguished themselves, the list is numerous; but Brito, Xavier, Pacheco, Pimentel, Schwalbach, Shaw, and Staunton must stand pre-eminent. The Miguelites appeared to have had 30,000 in the field. They were now being rapidly reinforced, including large numbers of monks and Government officials, who were promised the sacking of the city, with attendant horrors.

The Miguelites made a grand and long-threatened attack on the lines of the Liberals on the 29th, being St. Miguel's Day. Here is the Pedroite official account:*—At 7 A.M. they appeared in great force in front of the Liberal lines from Padrão de Campanhã to the Serio, driving in their pickets, with some loss on both sides. The trenches on the road from St. Cosme to Padrão were defended by a battalion of Atiradores, under Colonel Count St. Leger, when he was attacked by 5,000 men; these got into a

* I shall often have to refer to the Portuguese official reports, which are to be found in "O Cerco do Porto," por um Portuense, 1840, where a little more about foreign assistance might have been alluded to. Also to Soriano's "His. do Cerco do Porto," 1846.

street afterwards called Rua 29 de Setembro with two pieces of artillery and a howitzer; their further advance was disputed during two hours of very hard fighting; St. Leger was reinforced by companies of the 6th and 10th Infantry, 3rd Caçadores, some volunteers, and 28 of the Cavalry Guias; he was very severely wounded. The enemy had to retire, with considerable loss; the Liberals lost over 200.

Another column of 2000 men came and surprised the Praça das Flores on the Vallongo road, in front of the batteries of Bomfim and Fojo, defended by the English under Colonel Burrell. Here there was a determined fight, in which Burrell fell. The greater portion of his force was killed and wounded—the remainder had to retire within their lines. The Liberals were attacked at the Lomba battery, and lost 100 men.

At two P.M., the enemy tried to break through this portion of the lines, but the English (under Shaw), who had been reinforced by two companies of the 5th Caçadores, under Major J. M. da Souza, obliged the enemy to retire. At the same time a force of 5000 men attacked the trenches and battery of Captivo defended by the 18th Regiment, under Santos Barrozo. The enemy got to the parapet and gate of the Quinta, but were beaten back at the point of the bayonet.

The volunteers of Donna Maria, and part of the 1st Moveables, kept up a fire at Agua-ardente. The heights of Medalhas were attacked by another force, when the Pedroites were beaten back within their lines. However, they formed and sallied out, charged the enemy, and drove them off.

A Miguelite force was in front of Captivo, when a column, composed of portions of the 6th and 13th Regi-

ments, 5th Caçadores under Colonel Pacheco, also some English, went out to flank them on the left, whilst Major Miranda, with another force, marched in the direction of Covello, so as to call attention away from Pacheco. He dislodged more than 2000 of the enemy, who had to retire to a force they had before the Antas.

Miranda had a splendid brush with 400 to 500 near Covello, leaving of the enemy thirty-eight men and officers dead on the field, and taking nineteen prisoners.

In the centre, Schwalbach, with six companies of Caçadores of the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th, advanced on the enemy, and severely punished them, occupying Prelada, and taking some prisoners.

The Serra Convent was attacked by three columns, one of which made for the point called Eira, and another for the right flank. They were repulsed, and having lost a considerable number in killed and wounded, retired.

Whilst the fighting was going on, the batteries on the south of the Douro bombarded the city.

Finally, at six P.M., after eleven hours' fighting, the Miguelites retired within their lines, leaving 300 prisoners in the hands of the Pedroites, 400 muskets, 3 pieces of artillery, many cases of ammunition, and other objects. Their loss was put down by some in killed, wounded, and prisoners, at from 5000 to 6000 men. The loss of the Liberals was 646. This was a glorious day for Dom Pedro, who was to be seen at all points of attack, giving orders and cheering the men. Villa-Flor was the chief in command of this desperate and most successful defence. The inhabitants strained every nerve in assisting the troops.

On the side of the Liberals, of generals J. Valdez was wounded and Palhares killed. Of colonels: Burrell, killed early in the action; Hodges, wounded; St. Leger,

wounded ; Sá Camello, killed. Of majors : Gentil, killed ; Eça and Shaw, wounded. Of captains : Montenegro and Brandão, killed—many wounded. Of lieutenants and ensigns, seven killed, and a large number wounded. The enemy must have looked upon this as a very severe lesson, and found they had very tough customers to deal with, although they took for awhile two batteries, and even got to the last barricades of the city.

To prevent desertion to the Liberals, the Miguelite generals, on the night of the 29th, had to leave their northern lines, and retire three or four leagues from Oporto.

At daybreak the following morning, Dom Pedro, as he was accustomed to do, visited the batteries and lines, and, having ordered repairs, went to the hospitals to comfort the wounded, himself assisting at some amputations. He also visited the wounded prisoners, and had kind words for them.

An eye-witness observes:* "The foreign troops were surprised at seven A.M., when Colonel Burrell got his death-wound. The English lost their position for awhile, but being reinforced by the 5th Caçadores, charged at the point of the bayonet and retook it.

The Miguelites got into the streets, and in the act of plundering found themselves abandoned by their supports, and were most furiously charged by twenty-eight heroes of the Mounted Guides, who took two guns and a howitzer. Only two British officers were standing when the attack was over. This was a conflict on which, in all probability, the cause depended. The Miguelites, according to their own returns, lost 5000 men.

Captain Glascock, R.N., in his "Naval Sketch Book,"

* "Civil War," p. 111.

says: "The Pedroites were nearly dished. . . . . Young Woolridge was the admiration of the British troops. He was severely wounded on the 29th. . . . . Seeing on one occasion the English line giving way and flying from a superior Miguelite force, he threw off his jacket, trampled it under foot, vowing before the panic-stricken troops he would never resume the scarlet uniform unless the British returned to the charge. With difficulty Colonel Williams succeeded in again bringing his battalion to a stand, and ultimately recovered a strong position the Miguelites had taken, and which, if retained for a fortress, would have completely commanded the city lines."

Sir Charles Shaw communicates to me the following:— "There was a general attack at six A.M. At eight A.M. I was wounded in the right breast and carried to the rear. At two P.M., hearing that all the officers were killed, I returned to the field and carried the colours. I was again wounded in the hand, left eye-brow, and head by musket shot. Whilst lying on the ground I was plundered of my watch, cash, valuables, and greater part of the regimental papers. The enemy was repulsed at six P.M. I was the only officer who did not go to hospital."

Admiral Napier makes this remark: "After the attack of the 29th September was over, Oporto was safe. Portuguese jealousy and intrigue went to work against the French and English." The Admiral is often very strong in his expressions; but there are always two sides to a question.

The Miguelite General Gaspar Tixeira issued a bombastic proclamation from Aguas Santas, 27th September, before the attack of the 29th:—

"Soldiers! The rebels, fearing your valour and

discipline, have hidden themselves behind the walls, not daring to present themselves openly. Beaten at Ponte Ferreira (?), forced to fly precipitously from Souto Redondo, and driven out of Villa Nova (?) they tremble at the sight of your weapons (!)

"Soldiers! Oporto is their last useless refuge, whence we must dislodge them; and in the place where they attempt to hide their crimes it is necessary we should punish them.

"Soldiers! Let the day of attack be that of our victory; but, remember that victory will not be complete as long as one single revolutionist exists. Swear, then, that you will not quit your arms, and that you will not rest until you have entirely exterminated the rebels.

"The King and the Nation expect from you this great work: their hopes will not be deceived.

"Soldiers! In the day of your greatest glory, that you so anxiously and laudably wait for, unite to your great courage and unshaken fidelity the most exact obedience to the orders of your superiors, because one false step—even an imprudent excess of valour—may be prejudicial to those brave men themselves. The God of armies protect so just a cause—the cause of the Portuguese, lovers of their legitimate King, and of their country.

"Soldiers! Let us to the combat: let us put an end to the revolution, and in the midst of our transports let us always shout—'Viva the Holy Religion of Jesus Christ!' 'Viva King Dom Miguel the First!' 'Victory and Happiness to the Portuguese!'"

The 10th October, seven sail of Dom Miguel's fleet sailed from Vigo and came off Oporto. Sartorius followed them, and with two frigates drove them to sea in masterly

style. The 12th was Dom Miguel's birthday. The enemy had been quiet since the celebrated 29th; but on the night between the 10th and 11th they commenced a bombardment, when shot and shell were showered on the city. The Liberals replied by fireworks, music, and patriotic songs.

At six A.M. of the 13th, four of the enemy's batteries commenced fire on the Serra Convent until two A.M. of the next day, during which time they fired 3000 shot and shell, which did considerable damage, and opened a breach; but Torres and his men, some 700 in number, repaired it, and they stood their ground firmly without firing a shot. At three P.M. on the 13th nine shells fell on his circumscribed lines, after which 7000 men in three columns—one by the Eira, another by the centre, and the other by the Villa Nova road—attacked; but they were vigorously repelled in the six attacks they made in three hours, after which the Miguelites retired. This seventh attack on the Serra Convent cost them 600 in killed and wounded, including a brigadier. The Liberals lost 69, five of whom were officers. The Miguelites by this time had some idea "of hair-breadth 'scapes in the imminent deadly breach."

The city continued to be shelled, more particularly that part where Dom Pedro resided, the Palace of Moraes, so much so that he had to remove to a house in Rua Cedofeita; when this was known to the enemy, they fired shot directly aimed at his house from the celebrated big gun "Paulo Cordeiro."

On the 24th the Serra Convent was again attacked at eight P.M., under orders of the new Miguelite Commander-in-Chief, the Duque de Lafoens. It was intended as a surprise; but as Torres was not to be caught napping, he punished the assailants well. On this occasion he gave

them lots of hand grenades; their loss was 100 killed, and many wounded. He had only two wounded.*

Very little has been written by the Miguelites in regard to the lengthened siege of Oporto, their march to and attacks upon Lisbon, their encounters with Donna Maria's army, their being shut up in Santarem, and Dom Miguel's abandonment of Portugal.

The author refers to his work for some of the general operations of the Miguelites.

The English Tory papers and periodicals and Legitimist journals on the Continent, particularly the "Gazette de France," wrote much on the "Rights of Dom Miguel." There also appeared many pamphlets in French and Portuguese. The following are the titles of a few:—

"Moi je ne suis pas un rebelle; ou la question du Portugal, &c.: par Antonio Ribeiro Saraiva, Emigré Portugais. Paris, 1828."

"Injustice et mauvaise foi de la plupart des Journaux

* For portions of the introduction I am indebted to "The Civil War in Portugal, by a British Officer of Hussars, 1836" (said to be Colonel Owen), "Colonel Shaw's Memoirs," Lieut.-Col. Badcock's "Rough Leaves from a Journal kept in Spain and Portugal, 1832 to 1834," Admiral Napier's "Accounts of the War," Col. Hodges' "Expedition to Portugal," Naval Sketch Book, by Capt. Glascock, containing "Jack in Oporto," A. F. Moreira de Sás' "Novo Compendio da Historia de Portugal, 1864." "O Cerco do Porto em 1832—3, por um Portuense," published in 1840 (contains many official reports). "His. do Cerco do Porto, por S. I. da Luz Soriano," "His. de Portugal, por I. M. de Sousa Monteira," "Mem. da Campanhas de D. Pedro, por Cunha-Matos, 1833." I am under great obligations to Sir Charles Shaw, K.C.T.S., K.C.S.F., &c., &c., for MS. plans, &c., placed in my hands, and his corrections of the MS. to 1868. Also to the Marshal Duke of Saldanha for his corrections of the MS. in 1868, and for "Extraits de l'Histoire des Hommes d'Etat et des Hommes de Guerre," lately published at Geneva, containing important matter connected with the affairs of Portugal to the present time, and materials for a biography of the duke.

de Londres et de Paris . . . des droits de Dom Miguel, &c.: by same author. Paris, 1828."

"Actes des décisions des Trois Etats du Royaume de Portugal, &c.: by same author. Paris, 1828."

"Quelques Réflexions sur les Droits au Trône de Portugal. Paris, 1829."

"Véritables Intérêts des Puissances Européennes et de l'Empereur du Brésil par rapport aux affaires actuelles du Portugal. Paris, 1829."

"Remarques sur la declaration du Marquis de Barbacena, relativement au retour de la Princesse du Gram-Pará (Donna Maria II.) à Rio Janeiro. Paris, 1830."

In 1833 appeared a volume of 312 pages: "Dom Miguel, ses aventures scandaleuses, ses crimes et son Usurpation; par un Portugais de distinction, traduit (from German) par J. B. Mesnard. Paris: Menard, Libraire, Place Sorbonne, 1833." Here Senhor Barreto-Feio, a member of the Cortes, is spoken of as contributing his excellent notes and additions. It has been thought that the Conde Rio Mayor, who had been one of the prince's governors, was the author; however, the work must be considered as by an anonymous author, and it would not be fair to attach any great historical value to it.

CHAPTER III.

KING JOHN IV. OF PORTUGAL.

Notice of Life of Dom John VI.—Marriage to a Spanish Princess—The French occupy Portugal—The Royal Family emigrate to Brazil—French beaten out of the Peninsula—Liberal views in Portugal—The King returns, his Queen at the head of the Absolutos, she makes Dom Miguel commander-in-chief—Division among the Liberals—Death to Liberals and Freemasons—Attempt to dethrone the King, and place Dom Miguel on the throne—The King escapes on board the 'Windsor Castle'—Dom Miguel banished—Assassination of the King's friend, the Marquis Loulé—Death of the King—Dom Pedro his successor—Regency of Isabel Maria—Character of the King—Dom Pedro gives a charter to Portugal; abdicates in favour of Donna Maria—The old Queen and Absolutism oppose Donna Maria and Liberalism—Dom Miguel swears to the Constitution, affianced to Donna Maria, and returns to Portugal—He breaks his oath.

To comprehend a little more clearly political matters connected with Portugal, there are offered notices of the King, his Queen Carlotta, Dom Pedro, and Dom Miguel.

Dom John was the son of Donna Maria I. and Dom Pedro III, born 13th May, 1767, in Lisbon. In consequence of the widowed Queen's insanity, he became Regent in 1799. He married Donna Carlotta Joaquina, daughter of Charles IV. of Spain. Dom John was early threatened with mental alienation, but the symptoms passed off.

He and his family after their flight from Portugal from before the French, in 1807, resided in Brazil until 1821. His mother died in Rio, 20th March, 1816, at the age of 82, when he was declared King of Portugal, and crowned in 1818.

Two great events had been achieved by the Peninsular War;—one, the victory over the French assailants; the other, the old despotic system of rule had been shaken by

the approach of one of a Liberal character; thus, when Dom John returned to Portugal, in 1821, he had to swear to the Constitution promulgated in 1820, whilst his Queen publicly opposed this act, when it was suggested by the Liberals to banish her to Spain or Brazil. Her son, Dom Miguel, however, was placed at the head of the army through his mother's influence. The Liberals were divided, and the Queen did her best to widen the breach between them. She suddenly struck a blow through the agency of Dom Miguel, who called upon the troops, proclaiming death to the Liberals and Freemasons. Freemasonry was a considerable bond of union among the Liberals of Portugal and Spain, the mere mention of which was almost sufficient to frighten Dom John out of his life. Dom Miguel marched to Villa-Franca, a few miles up the Tagus, which seems to have been a mere pretext to cover an intention of dethroning the King. Some of the King's advisers induced him to side with the Absolutists, by doing which the Queen's views were defeated.

The bold operations of the Queen have been sometimes called those of the "occulta mão"—the hidden hand—her grand move being to place Dom Miguel on the throne. The 30th April, 1824, there was a second conspiracy, and there are more than suspicions that the King was to be got rid of. At this period Dom John escaped from his palace, taking refuge on board the British ship of war, 'Windsor Castle,' when Dom Miguel reigned for a moment at the head of his Absoluto followers; but he soon had to appear before the King as a prisoner, and was sent on his forced continental travels.

There are three documents signed by the King, dated from on board the 'Windsor Castle.' The first is the "Proclamãco," signed 9th May, 1824, in which it is stated

that Dom Miguel, impelled by sinister inspirations and deceived by traitorous counsellers, on the 30th April put himself at the head of the troops, arrested and imprisoned a large number of persons, including the Ministers; that he had caused the King to be imprisoned for some hours in his palace—had, indeed, headed a conspiracy, a revolution; . . . . and that Dom Miguel had been dismissed from the command of the army. . . . The second document, signed 9th May, was the "Carta Regia," commanding Dom Miguel to repair on board the 'Windsor Castle.' The third, 12th May, gave Dom Miguel *permission* to leave Portugal. There is another document called the "Indulto e Perdão Regia," signed the 24th June, 1825, wherein the King speaks most feelingly of the horrible crimes committed on the 30th April, 1824, and following days, but grants free pardon to all concerned, excepting some few who were banished. He pardoned those who were so culpable of the "tenebroso" (dark) crime committed on the night of the 28th February at the Palace of Salvatierra (the assassination of the Marquis de Loulé, his chamberlain), also those concerned in the affair of the night of the 25th October. . . . .

A prey to grief, the King's health gave way, and he died 20th March, 1826, aged 59 years, having named, recognised and ratified the rights of, as heir and successor to the Portuguese throne, his eldest son, Dom Pedro, the then Emperor of Brazil, by the "Carta Regia" of 13th May, and "Edicto," 5th November, 1825; charging his daughter Donna Isabel Maria with the Regency, during the pleasure of Dom Pedro IV., by decree of 10th March, 1826.

Dom John was buried in the church of S. Vincent da Fora at Lisbon. A Liberal Portuguese writer says of him, —that he had an agreeable presence; blessed with a bland

and very religious character; but he had not the necessary powers to continue the reforms of the previous reign. He was of ordinary height, corpulent, of melancholy aspect, large mouth and features, and drooping jaw. He was very kind, but not constituted to bear up against the vicissitudes of his times; he was timid, and not happy in the choice of his friends.

John VI.* was a weak Sovereign, as incapable of doing harm from a tyrannical or vindictive spirit, as he was of doing good from capacity or talent. Yet through habit he had acquired a natural tact, a cunning finesse, in treating with public men and authorities; which, added to a very suspicious disposition, rendered him a most difficult personage to deal with. He was peculiarly delicate in manners with foreign diplomatists; but, with a most surprising subtlety, he would change a subject of conversation, and avoid an inference being drawn in any way, that often puzzled able men to combat. He was perfectly aware of all the errors and corruptions of his government and servants. He cared not for it.

His chief aim was to embroil all who served him, whether ministers, friends, children, or servants; in that he considered his safety consisted, and he would do it by the most extraordinary treachery and breaches of confidence. He suspected all and trusted none. . . . His passion was the amassing wealth in diamonds. He was careless in his person. The same pair of boots he would not change until patching them was of no utility, and the same nankeen trowsers must be washed and ironed every night for the morning's use, so darned and mended that frequently the washerwoman's complaints were loud. His

* "Civil War," p. 18.

embroidered uniform coat was in constant use, blazoned with thirteen stars. He ate with his fingers. Withal, he was a good man, and died beloved, if not respected, by his people.

On the death of Dom John, a national deputation left Portugal for the Brazils to announce to Dom Pedro the death of his father and his elevation to the throne. Dom Pedro then gave the Portuguese a charter of constitution, dated 29th April, 1826, and abdicated in favour of his daughter, Donna Maria II. These acts were agreed to by all the Portuguese Royal Family,* by the Portuguese nation, and all the foreign Powers.

Whilst this was going on, Dom Miguel was at Vienna, and the old Queen and her party were planting the seeds of a sanguinary civil war against the charter and the sovereignty of Donna Maria II. The Count de Amarante, now the old Queen's friend, with a small army he had got together in Tras os Montes, having for its object the seating of Dom Miguel on the throne, was successful against the arms of the Constitutionalists, who had to retreat into Spain.

Dom Miguel supplicated his brother, Dom Pedro, to allow him to return to Portugal. This was acceded to, and, moreover, as his lieutenant; he was also affianced to Donna Maria II., and swore to uphold the Constitution to the Courts of Vienna, Paris, and London; this was in July, 1827. Dom Miguel returned to Portugal, took the oath of allegiance before the Portuguese Cortes, which represented the nation; but as the Liberal Portuguese writers say, "tudo foi por elle ultimamente despresado, e perjurado com a mais escandalosa immoralidade"—all he had sworn to obey he broke through in the most scandalous and immoral manner.

* The Absoluto portion, with the Queen at their head, swore under reservation! *i.e.*, to upset the Constitution at the earliest opportunity.

CHAPTER IV.

QUEEN CARLOTTA JOAQUINA.

Notice of her life—Her children—Domestic troubles—Her ambition and violence—Her efforts to have the country of La Plata—The Gaucho chief, Artigas—Intrigues of France and Austria to impose a Bourbon as King upon the Argentinos—Other intrigues—Louis Philippe invited to monarchise South America—They fail—The Queen returns to Portugal—Her despotism—She fails in her political views—Her son Dom Miguel banished—The Queen dies.

Carlotta Joaquina was a Spanish Infanta; her mother was the Queen Maria Louisa de Borbon y Parma. She became the wife of Dom John of Portugal. The following are the names of her nine children:—

Maria Theresa, married to Don Pedro Carlos of Spain. Antonia, died at six years of age. Maria Isabel, married to Ferdinand VII. of Spain. Dom Pedro, became Emperor of Brazil, King and then Regent of Portugal. Maria Francisca, married to Don Carlos of Spain. Isabel Maria, became Regent of Portugal. Dom Miguel, for awhile usurped the throne of Portugal. Maria Assumpção, died at 29 years of age. Anna de Jesus Maria, became the wife of the Marquis Loulé.

Before the entry of the French into Portugal, there were domestic troubles between the Queen and her husband, when he passed much of his time in religious seclusion in the cloisters of Mafra. According to various accounts, her conduct did not improve on her arrival in the Brazils.

The author of "The Civil War in Portugal" says:—"She was a woman of a very violent spirit, entering upon

party politics with the ambitious view of seizing the reins of government. To gain her ends, she fearlessly hazarded her own life and those of her adherents. When in Rio de Janeiro, she showed her daring and violent spirit by firing a pistol at Lobato, the King's favourite. She was an accomplished woman; her conversation was full of wit and spirit.

Whilst* the public mind at Buenos Ayres was kept in a state of excitement by the aggression of Napoleon in the Peninsula, the transfer of the Court of Portugal to the Brazils inspired the Princess Carlotta with the ambition of establishing herself in a similar situation at Buenos Ayres. Her father, Charles IV. of Spain, and her brother, Ferdinand, having at Bayonne renounced (being compelled to do so by Napoleon) their right to the crown of Spain, she despatched emissaries to Buenos Ayres to assert her contingent claim, and to concert measures for her residence in that capital. Her proposals were received, and a warm invitation sent by the most influential characters of the country . . . but when her projects were on the point of being crowned with success, they were rendered abortive by the unexpected arrival, in May, 1809, of the Spanish Viceroy Cisneros, who, on ascending the river, touched at Monte Video, and concerted measures with the Governor-General Elio, who, like Cisneros, was a staunch supporter of Ferdinand. . . . Shortly afterwards, the principal supporters of the Princess Carlotta changed their views, and formed plans of setting up the standard of independence.

In 1811 she sent an Italian as her agent to Buenos Ayres, offering to be the Protectress of the country, which was refused.

In 1814-15, Artigas, a Gaucho chief, took possession

* General Miller's Memoirs, i. 59.

of the province of Monte Video, and even made war upon Buenos Ayres and Brazil. This was eagerly seized upon by the Brazilian Government as an excuse for entering the Banda Oriental, and making themselves masters of the long-coveted position of Monte Video.

During the years 1819-21 the affairs of Buenos Ayres had been thrown into wild disorder by the madness of contending factions. The intrigues of France and Austria with the design of imposing upon the Argentines a Bourbon or an Austrian prince were defeated by the Republican party. The young Prince of Lucca had been proposed for the throne of Buenos Ayres.*

On Queen Carlotta's return to Portugal, in 1821,† she had fresh occasion to show her fearless spirit; she knew her men and despised them; and had she been permitted to put in execution her vow of going in pilgrimage to the Senhor da Monte de Braga, she would have raised such a commotion as would have ended in the beheading of every *bem merito* (constitution promoter) in the country.

Dom John, her husband, aided her enemies, for he dreaded her ambitious views, therefore she was foiled. She had her son Dom Miguel made commander-in-chief of a

* The author is aware that an individual, a Bolivian, and who commenced his career as a priest, had to do with the idea of having Carlotta Joaquina as Protectress of Buenos Ayres. He had previously written largely in favour of the separation of the Colonies from Spain, publishing his views of affairs in the United States, when, separating himself from the Church as a priest, he married. When the Portuguese court returned to Lisbon, this same individual went again to Carlotta Joaquina in the hope of inducing her to meddle in South American matters. When Louis Philippe came to the throne of France, this same person proposed a monarchical system to him for a certain portion of South America, which was listened to. He went to Buenos Ayres, charged with the prosecution of a change from Republicanism, in which he did not succeed, and where he died in great poverty.

† "Civil War."

"turbulent and politically deliberating army." . . . . The Queen saw that a favourable juncture had arrived, and struck the blow through the agency of Dom Miguel; but the King was cunning enough to *apparently* follow the wishes of the Queen, and defeated her views as to his dethronement.

Still Dom John gave up the enthusiastically-sworn-to constitution, as the farmer's wife gives up her long-fed favourite pig to have his throat cut, when domestic economy requires its death for bacon flitches. Thus his mild, weak, and corrupt government continued.

The Queen and Dom Miguel now confined Dom John to his palace, whilst they were meditating afresh his dethronement. . . . He escaped for protection on board a British man-of-war, whence he ordered Dom Miguel to appear before him as a culprit, then sent him into banishment.

The Queen was obliged, in some measure, to be quiet; still this forced leisure gave her time to mature other Absoluto plans for power.

The King died in 1826, when Dom Pedro, then Emperor of Brazil, was proclaimed King of Portugal. The Constitutional party was rather in the ascendant.

Portuguese writers generally speak guardedly about the old Queen, particularly in regard to private and intimate domestic matters; still they say that her gold kept in a great measure her partizans together; and they often assert, when the machinations of the Queen have to be alluded to, that they were the work of "a occulta mão" or her hidden hand; "vistas occultas"—hidden views, *i.e.*, Absolutism, in every possible shape and form. She died 7th January, 1830.

CHAPTER V.

DOM MIGUEL.

Notice of his life—His early days in Brazil—His return to Portugal—Made Commander-in-Chief by his Mother—Conspiracies to dethrone John VI.—Dom Miguel banished—Dom Pedro abdicates in favour of Donna Maria—Dom Miguel affianced to Donna Maria—Returns to Portugal—Usurps the Crown, and is at the head of the Absolutos—Persecution of the Liberals—They make a stand in the Azores—Dom Pedro joins the Liberals in the Islands and lands at Oporto July, 1832, to oppose Dom Miguel.

Dom Miguel was the seventh child and second son of the Queen Carlotta, and was born in Portugal the 2nd October, 1802. In 1807 he went with the other members of the royal family to Brazil, and was under his mother's charge until nine years of age.

The author of "The Civil War in Portugal, &c.,"* and who appears to have had the best opportunities to obtain information concerning Portuguese doings, says: "Dom Miguel was educated as a Portuguese prince, ignorant of everything he did not wish to learn; therefore it may be well supposed that he was more apt at athletic exercises than literary studies. It is much to be doubted whether the King himself was very anxious on the subject of the education of his sons: perhaps he might have a jealous feeling of their knowing more than himself.

"Brought up as he was, his own was the only hereditary

* By a British Officer of Hussars, 1836.

DOM MIGUEL DE BRAGANZA.

rank. All others were menials. Virtue and worth were only distinguished by him in force and dexterity."

The before-mentioned author gives rather a calm view of Dom Miguel's proceedings. Lord Palmerston, who must have known a great deal about Portuguese affairs, spoke most unfavourably of the prince in Parliament.

Dom Miguel returned to Portugal in 1821 with the royal family. Political confusion was the order of the day, which the Absoluto Queen fomented and took advantage of.

For much of the following I am indebted to the author of the "Civil War." The Queen's son, Dom Miguel, was a fitting tool, and she made use of him. He was already Commander-in-Chief of the army. He called upon the troops, proclaiming death to Freemasonry and Liberalism, and marched to Villa Franca in 1823. This was a mere pretext to cover the intention of dethroning his father. In 1824 the public mind was prepared by a second conspiracy for Dom Miguel's violence in confining his father to the palace, who was saved most probably from a violent death by taking refuge on board a British ship-of-war. Dom Miguel reigned for a moment at the head of a few vagabond followers, and declared war against all Liberals and Freemasons; but at last he was obliged to appear before his father as a prisoner, and he was sent on his travels in May of same year, 1824.

In 1826 Dom John died, his eldest son Dom Pedro was declared heir to the throne, and his sister Isabel Maria regent. No one disputed this arrangement. The Absolutists were in despair when they heard that Dom Pedro had abdicated in favour of his daughter and given a Constitution to Portugal. The Liberals were delighted, but quiet people saw a very troublesome and dangerous period

of the history of Portugal approaching. Saldanha, then Governor of Oporto, at once proclaimed the Constitution to be the law of the land, but everything was done by the Absolutists to suppress it.

Saldanha and Villa-Flor, in particular, appeared in the field in defence of the Constitution.

The Absoluto Governments managed to get Dom Miguel to swear to the Constitution and affianced to Donna Maria, when he was allowed to return to Portugal in July, 1827, but "darkling with suspicions of all he saw, sick of the restraints he had endured so long, and eager to throw off the cloak of dissimulation." The Queen poisoned his mind against everything but herself and party. Had he now quietly pursued his course, he might have preserved the Constitution and the Chambers too, and have ruled with a sway that would have rendered the Constitutional liberty a mere name and a shadow . . . and the Logar Tenente would have been an absolute King in everything but the name; . . . but the moment he insulted the Conde de Villa-Real, the bloody banner was displayed. He immediately adopted all the violent advice that the most violent passions could dictate.

The Constitution was abolished, and many of the same troops who had so ardently raised that fabric in the air as readily hurled it to the ground and took new oaths.

Early in 1828 Dom Miguel was declared King by his party. Many of the Liberals were imprisoned, and more fled from the country or concealed themselves. He and his friends now began to give a new tone to political movements and revolutions. Hatred and revenge were nurtured, and it was evident that they only required time to ripen into all the horrors of a civil war.

Persecutions were becoming daily more rife. There is no doubt that the revolution of 1828 had been for some time in cogitation, but it broke out prematurely, and it failed. Nothing would satisfy Dom Miguel's party but the extermination of their political adversaries. The prisons were crowded to suffocation, and the agents of persecution were warned to vary their system. Heavy contributions were demanded and repeated extortions made. The consequent misery exceeds all description.

The execution of several Liberals in Lisbon in 1829 drove thousands to emigration, commerce became a name, and social intercourse ceased.

Troops were levied for the defence of the country against the threatened invasion of the Constitutionalists. The danger now approximated, for intelligence was received that the preparations in the Azores were completing. Santa Martha was appointed to command Dom Miguel's troops covering the sea-coast from Figueira to Viana with a force of 82,000 men.

The Constitutionalists had taken possession of the island of Terceira in the name of Donna Maria II. The Conde Villa-Flor after a time appeared at the island, and, braving the Miguelite scaffolds, in a small vessel eluded his enemies, instilling fresh vigour into operations. A powerful Miguelite armament came before the Islands, but it was well beaten.

The young queen left Brazil for England, but the Tories then in power did not befriend her. She returned to Brazil. The Liberals came into power in England, and Charles X. of France made room for Louis Philippe. The Constitutionalists were fortunate in the Azores. Their hopes were now highly raised by the sudden and unexpected appearance of Dom Pedro in

Europe, as Regent of Portugal, in the name of Donna Maria II., and General of her army, and prepared for the projected descent on the shores of Portugal.

The Miguelites, most strange to say, permitted the Liberal army, not 8000 men, to land on the 8th July, 1832, without molestation, saying that they could easily destroy them at their leisure. Their fleet was at anchor in the Tagus! Such was the impotent policy of the Absoluto Government of Dom Miguel.

DOM PEDRO, DUKE OF BRAGANZA.

CHAPTER VI.

DOM PEDRO.

Notice of life—Emigrates with his family to Brazil—His industry—Fond of military doings—Impatient of restraint—Anecdotes—Twice married—Brazil at war with the Banda Oriental—Dom Pedro Emperor of Brazil—Portugal at war with Brazil—Lord Cochrane's great services to Brazil—Brazilian aggression on Peru—At war with La Plata—Peace patched up—Uruguay—John VI. dies—Brazilians fearful that Dom Pedro wishes to reign in Portugal—He resigns in favour of Donna Maria—Suggests to Dom Pedro to become Emperor of Iberia—Anecdotes—Wars of Brazil up to 1868—General Miller's observations on Dom Pedro—Author's observations at Rio, 1830—Villa-Flor comes to Rio for assistance against Dom Miguel—Dom Pedro's difficulties with the Deputies, sends some off to France—Irish settlers badly used, sent away—Liberal party too strong for Dom Pedro; he leaves the empire to his son, and goes to Europe—Brazilian Politics—Dom Pedro's Letter of Abdication.

Dom Pedro d'Alcantara was the fourth child, but first son, of the Queen Carlotta Joaquina, born the 12th October, 1798, at the palace of Queluz, and, at the age of nine, emigrated with the Royal Family to Brazil.

Dom Pedro,* although educated as a Portuguese prince, had the good fortune to know himself and his deficiencies; and he often lamented that his education had been guided by ignorance and prejudice. His natural disposition was proud, yet he displayed symptoms of indifference, weariness, and contempt, when obliged, as a Prince, to stand for hours at a levee giving his hand to be kissed by hundreds of obsequious slaves, from the bishop to the bare-legged friar, the nobleman to the peasant, the general to the soldier, the admiral to the sailor.

* "Civil War."

His propensity was to work at all mechanical trades, and he attained considerable skill, particularly in turning ivory. He was passionately fond of music. His exercises were shooting, riding, rowing, and fencing. He was always inquisitive with strangers, with regard to pursuits and employments of princes of their own courts. He delighted to converse with military men, but in that propensity was thwarted by John VI.

He was very irascible, impatient of restraint, and did some violent things in Rio Janeiro; his temper had been nourished by unjust treatment from his father. The King was jealous of him, and that weakness gave unprincipled favourites opportunities of low intrigue. One anecdote will illustrate King, prince, and favourite:—

Dom Pedro having received a very beautiful and quiet horse, he destined it for the King's use. Being a very superior horseman, he trained the animal himself, and accompanied it, superbly caparisoned, to the palace, requesting the King's appearance. The intriguing favourite, who was aware that it would as certainly bring the prince into favour as himself to ruin, whispered in the King's ear that Dom Pedro intended to present his Majesty with a very pretty horse, but that it was vicious. This was sufficient for the suspicious King. When the prince begged his acceptance of it he replied: "Yes, yes, Pedro, I know all about it; he is full of vice, and would break my neck if I mounted him—ride him yourself." This unjust accusation and suspicion, uttered with a sneer, inflamed his passion like a whirlwind. "You despise my gift; no other shall mount him." He sprang on the horse, and, setting out in a constantly urged speed, he galloped him until he fell and rose no more.

When the author was in Brazil he was told Dom Pedro

and his brother Dom Miguel, when they were boys, would sally out with their tutor and attempt to thrash any English lads that they met with; however, the princes and their tutor generally came off second best.

Dom Pedro's first wife was Donna Carlotta Josepha Leopoldina, daughter of Francis I., Emperor of Austria, by whom he had five children: namely, Donna Maria da Gloria, afterwards Queen of Portugal; Januaria Maria (married to Count Aquila); Paula Marianna, who died young; Francisca dos Anjos (married to Prince Joinville); Pedro Carlos, who succeeded to the Empire of Brazil. Dom Pedro's first wife died 11th Dec., 1826. Of his second marriage, in 1829, with the Princess Amelia, daughter of Prince Beauharnais, there was one daughter, Maria Amelia Augusta, who died in 1853.

On the arrival of the Portuguese Court in Brazil, the Queen Carlotta, by virtue of her being a Spanish Princess, had her eye upon the occupation of the countries of the River Plate; but her plans did not succeed. Military doings in the direction of Buenos Ayres, also in the far west, and difficulties with the turbulent people in the north of Brazil, must have added to Dom Pedro's soldierly propensities.

Several attempts had been made by the house of Braganza to encroach upon the territory of Buenos Ayres, but they were frustrated.* To place the Brazilian frontier beyond the reach of anarchical confusion was the pretext of the Court of Rio Janeiro for taking possession of the Banda Oriental, because it was pretended that, in becoming independent of Spain, the province had become the prey of misrule and every species of disorder. About 8000 Portu-

* General Miller's Memoirs, i. 414.

guese and Brazilian troops, under General Lecor, entered Monte Video in January, 1817.

Before John VI. left Brazil for Lisbon, in 1821, he sent to know whether it was the wish of Monte Video to continue under his dominion. General Lecor packed a junta, which replied in the affirmative; but the minister of John VI., Pinheyro, wrote to Lecor to say that he had disobeyed the King's orders, and that a new assembly of the people must be convened. The King left Brazil, and his son and successor turned a deaf ear to every subsequent remonstrance.

In 1821, the Brazilians, or Portuguese Criollos, forced Dom John to give them something like a Constitutional form of government,* and on his return to Portugal he left his eldest son, Dom Pedro, as his Viceroy. But the Absoluto party in the Portuguese Cortes wished to have the Brazilians as colonists again, whereas the latter sought by every means to become independent of the mother country. After various struggles, a fruitless naval attempt was made by Portugal to resist the assumption of power on the part of Brazil, in which Dom Pedro was ably assisted by Lord Cochrane. After Cochrane had swept the Pacific of the Spanish naval forces, in his peculiar off-hand manner, in December, 1822, he received an invitation from Dom Pedro to take command of the Brazilian Navy

* T. Lindley, who was in Brazil in 1802-3, and who wrote a history of his imprisonment there, at p. 154 observes that he saw in the principal room of a gentleman at Bahia "French engravings of their late victorious generals. . . . Partiality I have long observed to be very general both here and in other parts of Brazil, among the younger branches of society; who have imbibed such notions so effectually that I should not wonder at this circumstance eventually causing a total change in their political situation. They already ridicule their subjection (to Portugal) and seem to be conscious that they possess the most desirable country in the world, sufficient of itself to supply all the wants of man."

and oppose that of Portugal. He arrived at Rio in March, 1823, his old fighting flag-captain, Crosbie, with other well-tried officers, accompanying him. By daring and stratagem he drove the considerable Portuguese fleet back crestfallen over the waters of the Atlantic, and showed to the old Portuguese and Absoluto party on the north coast of Brazil that they had better bend to Liberal views. He returned to Rio in November of the same year; he was called their saviour, was made Marquis of Maranham, &c., &c.; but little really substantial came to his share. He had done his work too well, and parties became jealous of him; then he was a foreigner.

In March, 1824, he tendered his resignation, which was not accepted, and he was sent to quell disturbances at Pernambuco. He still considered himself badly treated, when in June, 1825, he again wished to leave the service, which was not entertained, for as yet Portugal had not made peace with Brazil; however, in November of same year, Portugal came to terms with Brazil, when Cochrane left Brazil and gave his services to Greece. A commission appointed to arrange a pension for Cochrane declared that "he had saved Brazil millions of dollars in military and naval expeditions," but was he ever paid for his services?*

A few days after the decisive battle of Ayacucho, fought 9th Dec., 1824, which settled the independence of South America, and before the news could have crossed the western frontier line of Brazil, 200 Brazilian troops took

* January, 1869, Earl Dundonald returned to England after his third visit to Brazil to obtain satisfaction of the claims of his gallant father. But, although the Emperor said justice should be done, and the Minister of Finance declared that Brazil remained disgraced until the claim was settled, the son of him who in all probability saved the Brazilian Empire from collapse or division is without the settlement he had reason to expect.

possession of the upper provinces of Chiquitos in the name of Dom Pedro. But so soon as a company of patriot infantry made its appearance the Brazilians retreated. It was General Sucre's wish to have sent 1500 men under General Miller, who, it was expected, would have found a strong Republican feeling in the inland provinces, and who thus would have been enabled to have pushed on to Rio Janeiro, to prevent the repetition of any *imperial* aggression. The Minister of the Emperor signified to the Governor of Matagrosso his Majesty's disapprobation of this unauthorised marauding expedition.

In 1825 a war broke out between Buenos Ayres and Brazil, occasioned by the long-standing dispute respecting the Banda Oriental, or eastern coast of the River Plata. General Lecor was the Brazilian governor of Monte Video (the capital).

During the administration of Rodriguez, the government of Buenos Ayres had in vain demanded the evacuation of the province, in conformity to a condition agreed to by the Court of Brazil, that it should be given up as soon as Buenos Ayres should possess a regular and stable government. Lecor packed a meeting of the inhabitants, and obtained a declaration from them that the general wish was to continue under the protection of Dom Pedro.

The Argentines could not be expected to behold with indifference the key of the Plata in the hands of the Brazilians. In September, 1825, Lavalleja, with his Gauchos, attacked and beat the Brazilians at Gallinas, and, in October, soundly thrashed 2000 cavalry sent against him, causing the Brazilian forces to retire into their fortresses of Colonia and Monte Video—thus the Banda Oriental became a province of the Argentine Confederation.

On the 10th December, 1825, the Emperor Dom Pedro

declared war against Buenos Ayres. On the 3rd January, 1826, the Buenos Ayrean acceptation of war followed.

Admiral Brown (an Irishman) beat the Brazilians at sea, and Alvear's victory over them at Ituzaingo, in July, 1827, must have astonished the Court at Rio.

In August, 1828, a preliminary treaty of peace was signed at Rio, between the United Provinces of La Plata and the Empire. The Banda Oriental was called the Cisplatine Republic—now Uruguay.

John VI. died at Lisbon in 1826, leaving Dom Pedro heir to the throne of Portugal. Some of the Brazilians were afraid that Dom Pedro would prefer the kingdom of Portugal, and Brazil might again be reduced to a colony. These fears he endeavoured to dispel by abdicating the throne of Portugal in favour of his daughter Donna Maria.

The south of Spain had been a considerable focus of Republicanism ever since the Constitutional Cortes sat at Cadiz in 1812, and it is said that Dom Pedro had a project laid before him, which found many abettors, of uniting Portugal and Andalucia into a Federal Union, to be called the Iberian Republic, or Iberian Empire.

During troublous times of revolts in Brazil Dom Pedro often received information of intended attempts on his life, which he treated with disdain. On one occasion he hastened to the province of Minas, accompanied by one servant only, to put down a rising there. In two days and a-half he travelled one hundred and twenty leagues. Arrived at Villa Rica, he was informed that an ambuscade had been prepared for him in a wood. He rushed into it without hesitation, but found nothing to warrant the report. During a feast given to him there he received an anonymous letter intimating that it was proposed to poison him :

he read it at once publicly and ate of all the dishes on the table. His presence and his conduct at Villa Rica made him beloved, and tranquillity was restored.

When he gave audience he stood under a canopy, resting on his sword. He listened with the greatest attention, even to people of the lower class: he asked many questions, and repeated them when he thought it necessary, and answered at once. The look he gave around him was full of decision: he spoke distinctly, so that he could be well heard.

Dom Pedro, followed by a servant, visited the public establishments, commencing at daylight. He was anxious to see for himself if each clerk was at his post; he often asked for the list of workmen and called them by their names, and set them to their work.

He often went into the Courts of Law to see that there was regularity there, and severely reprimanded the least negligence.

In August, 1828, peace was concluded between the Brazils and Buenos Ayres. The Emperor had the good sense to see that the interests of his country required that he should discontinue a war which from the commencement was unjust, and had not only exhausted the finances of his empire, but had spread discontent and disaffection throughout the provinces, from the cruel manner in which the raising levies for the army was conducted.* Perhaps the liberal state of the affairs of Europe

* February, 1869.—The long war of the Empire of Brazil, the Argentine and Uruguayan Republics, with a population of nearly eleven millions, against Paraguay of not one and a-half millions, must soon come to a close in favour of the allies by the *quasi* extermination of the brave Paraguayans. Is Paraguay to be divided between the "high contracting parties"? However this affair may end, the continued heavy taxation in Brazil will not tell favourably on the Imperial Government. The cost of

may have had some little influence in hastening Dom Pedro's decision on this subject. The Brazils possess immense natural resources; all that was required was a wise and vigorous development, and this they had reason to expect at the hands of Dom Pedro, who had already, and of his own free-will, given them a Constitutional government, and whose liberal mind appeared to be constantly studious for the welfare of his people.

The two following paragraphs are from the second volume of General Miller's Memoirs:—Dom Pedro was a fine young man, generous and high-spirited; but, perhaps, his character would be seen to more advantage as King of Portugal than as Emperor of the Brazils; and it was not likely that he would condescend to receive a lesson from any other hand than that of dear-bought experience. One of his ministers made a faithful statement of the affairs of the Banda Oriental, in which he proved the impolicy of persevering in a war which had already absorbed a great portion of the resources of the empire. The Minister was turned out of office, and it may readily be supposed that after this his Majesty was not often troubled with any opinions on a subject displeasing to the Imperial ear.

Miller had passed a few days in Rio Janeiro when Dom Pedro returned from Bahia, where he had been to repress the efforts of faction. He went in procession from the landing-place to the palace, accompanied by the Empress, the Princess Maria da Gloria, and a long train of courtiers, nobility, and naval and military officers. There were

the war of Paraguay for "Russianising" Brazil alone is about one and a half millions sterling per month. The foreign debt is over thirty millions; what the home debt may be it is difficult to say, or what the amount of contributions to the war have been.

more general officers than could be required for an army of 100,000 men; and these were bedizened with more decorations than all the French generals who accompanied Napoleon in his last campaigns. And yet from this multitude the Emperor could not, it was said, select one efficient commander for the southern or northern provinces. The regular forces in the capital amounted to about 3500 men. About a third of this number was composed of Austrians, Swiss, and other foreigners, who, though sent from their own countries in the character of settlers, had been compelled to serve in the army. Upon these no great reliance could be placed. The regular army, not in the capital, might amount to ten or twelve thousand. A militia force in every province of the empire was assembled periodically, and intended only for a local defence, or to guard against risings of the black population.

Memoranda from the journals of the author when at Rio, and on his way from the Pacific to England, July, 1830:—

On the 10th the Emperor, Empress, and Donna Maria, called the Queen of Portugal, came from their country palace of S. Christobal. The Emperor was rather stout, but had a noble appearance: his new Empress was young and interesting; Donna Maria a good-looking, stout, pale child.

The Emperor and Empress travelled in a carriage drawn by eight greys; the Queen of Portugal's had eight mules. In the evening the Royal Family went to the Italian Opera. During the last act the Emperor fell into a dose, and so a rapid ending was made to the opera; for it was not etiquette to go on with the performance after the Emperor had left.

At the opera was pointed out the Conde Villa-Flor, who had just arrived from the Island of Terceira, to which

he had fled from the persecutions of Dom Miguel. He had come begging the Emperor to let him have ships and men to protect the Island of Terceira for Donna Maria. It was said that Villa-Flor had sworn not to shave until Portugal was free from the "Tyrant Dom Miguel."

It was reported that Dom Pedro had large sums of money in Europe for the purpose of doing his best to place his daughter on the throne of Portugal, and drive the usurper, Dom Miguel, from it.

The Imperial family seemed a very united one, and very happy, consequent on the Emperor's recent marriage to a princess of a domestic character.

Dom Pedro had the reputation of being generous, and much attached to those about him. He was rather worried by the free manner in which some of his people (the Liberal party) expressed themselves on matters of government, as, for instance, when they said, "The people made you a king, and we, the people, can unmake you."

The standing army was about 35,000, and there was a fair navy.

Dom Pedro had but lately sent some obnoxious deputies on a forced visit to France, rather quicker than they wished to go: they had been talking about having a Republic. The Emperor had a character for bravery, and was very fond of a military life.

About the 20th it was known that the Emperor and his Ministers were at loggerheads, and to this position of affairs was attributed the disastrous *finale* to the body of Irish emigrants who recently came to Brazil. It appeared that Colonel Cotter informed the said Irish in Ireland that they were merely wanted as a sort of militia, and that each on arrival was to have given to him fifty acres of land. On their arrival at Rio, there was no Colonel

Cotter to receive and care for them; and when they applied to one of the Ministers for the promised fifty acres of land, he ignored that part of the bargain, and ordered them off to join certain regiments of the line; this they declined doing, and remained in a most miserable plight. The author saw parties of these poor deluded people go to the Emperor's palace, but neither he or the Ministers seemed to attend to their wants. They were in a desperate state, and expressed themselves strongly, which was interpreted as mutinous, and it was feared they would join with a large number of disaffected Germans who were soldiering in Brazil.

At last there was a regular row, in consequence of a flogging inflicted on an Irish boy by the Brazilians; arms were even put into the hands of the blacks, and some of the Irish were killed. The British Admiral now interfered, and the Emperor offered to pay their passage home. They were shipped off, when one of the vessels they went in was wrecked on the African coast.

There was a colony of Roman Catholic Swiss in the interior, reported to be doing pretty well.

A band of robbers, prowling about the country, known as "Robin Hood's Gang," was committing depredations.

The author went to the Braganza side of the bay to see a regiment of German troops, commanded by Colonel Schwalbach (a German officer who had served in Portugal, but had to fly, after the revolution of 1828, on account of his Liberal notions); the men appeared to be under good discipline. On August 3rd, the birthday of one of the Princesses, the Court went to the Opera. The Empress, compared to the plain and dark-looking ladies present, was beautiful.

At the commencement of 1831, the Emperor found

that a powerful Liberal party had arisen in Brazil, who did not admire particularly his military doings and the expenses consequent on such princely luxury; they made the management of public affairs difficult to him; indeed, there was armed resistance to his Government. Doubtless seeing that there might be satisfactory occupation cut out for him in Europe in the defence of his daughter's rights to the throne of Portugal, he abdicated in favour of his son, and came to Europe.*

For the following I am indebted to "Brazil and the Brazilians:"†

Just as the vessel was ready to sail (1821), the King pressed his son to his bosom for the last time, and exclaimed, "Pedro, Brazil will, I fear, ere long separate herself from Portugal; and if so, place the crown on thine own head rather than allow it to fall into the hands of any adventurer."

Dom Pedro was then in his twenty-third year. His personal appearance was no less marked than his frank and affable manner; and his disposition, though capricious, was enthusiastic. He had decision of character, and was one who seemed to know when to seize the proper moment, as when at Rio, while the King was in the palace of S. Christovoa, only three miles away, he, upon his own authority, gave the people and the troops a decree whereby an unreserved acceptance of the future Constitution of the Portuguese Cortes was guaranteed. He also

* Dom Pedro's arrival in Europe, his fitting out the expedition from Belle Isle for the Western Islands, his landing at Oporto, and his lengthy and successful defence of that city, his triumphal entry into Lisbon, the proclamation of his daughter Donna Maria as Queen of Portugal in her capital, the forced abdication of Dom Miguel, and early death of Dom Pedro, will be given in detail in this work.

† By the Rev. J. C. Fletcher and the Rev. D. P. Kidder. Edit. 1866.

knew well how to guard his prerogative. His first wife was not possessed of great personal beauty; yet her kindness of heart and her unpretentious bearing endeared her to every one who knew her.

Dom Pedro had left Portugal young, and it was believed that his aspirations were associated with the land of his adoption. In his office of Regent he certainly found scope for his most ardent ambition; but he also discovered himself surrounded by numerous difficulties, political and financial. So embarrassing indeed was his situation, that in the course of a few months he begged his father to allow him to resign. The Cortes of Portugal becoming jealous of the position of Dom Pedro, passed a decree ordering him to return to Europe, and at the same time abolishing the Royal Tribunals at Rio. This decree was received with indignation by the Brazilians, who immediately rallied round Dom Pedro, and persuaded him to remain among them.

On the 7th of September, 1822, after having read certain despatches from Portugal, he exclaimed, "Independencia ou morte," which became the watch-word of the Brazilian Revolution, begun by one whose very birth and position would have led the philosopher or statesman to pronounce impossible that he should become the leader of a popular cause. On the 21st he was declared Constitutional Emperor.

The Andrade Ministry were accused of being arbitrary and tyrannical. Brazil owed her independence, and Dom Pedro his crown, chiefly to their exertions; yet their administration cannot by any means be exempted from censure. They fell, but were violent in opposition; and their organ went so far as to insinuate the example of Charles I. of England.

But Dom Pedro was no weak and vacillating Stuart. The Assembly, through the three brothers Andrades, declared itself in permanent session. Upon this Dom Pedro, at the head of his cavalry, marched up to the Chamber, planted his cannon before its walls, and ordered its instantaneous dissolution.

The administration of Dom Pedro continued about ten years; nevertheless it was not without its faults and its difficulties. He, although not tyrannical, was imprudent. He was energetic, but inconstant; an admirer of the representative form of government, but hesitating in its practical enforcement. He embarked in the war with Monte Video, which had its origin in aggression, and which, after crippling commerce, checking the prosperity and exhausting the finances of the empire, ended only in a full cession of the country in dispute.

The Brazilians believed they were beheld with suspicion, and hence became restive under a Government which they regarded as nurturing foreign interests and a foreign party. Dom Pedro's employment of a foreign force, his continued interference in the affairs of Portugal, and his institution of a secret Cabinet, had, among a jealous people, given rise to the general impression that he was still a Portuguese at heart.

At length he found himself in painful and humiliating circumstances. Opposition, which had long been covert, became undisguised, and his army at last betrayed him.

Political factions had now merged into two great parties, the Imperialists and the Patriots, when, on the 6th April, 1831, the populace cried out for the dismissal of his Ministry. The Emperor's reply was, "I will do everything for the people, but nothing by the people." He declared he would suffer death rather than consent to the dictation of a mob.

Deserted, harassed, and irritated, with sadness, yet with grace, he yielded to the circumstances, and took the only course consistent with his convictions and the dignity of his imperial office. It was two o'clock in the morning when he sat down, without asking advice of any one, or even informing the Ministry of his resolution, and wrote out his abdication as follows:

"Availing myself of the rights which the Constitution concedes to me, I declare that I have voluntarily abdicated in favour of my dearly-beloved and esteemed son, Dom Pedro de Alcantara. Boa Vista, 7th April, 1831, tenth year of the independence of the empire."

Addressing the messenger, he said, "Here is my abdication; may you be happy! I shall return to Europe, and leave the country that I loved dearly, and that I still love."

He embarked in one of the boats of the 'Warspite,' accompanied by the Empress and his eldest daughter, Donna Maria.

As he gazed for the last time on the beautiful Bay of Rio, he wrote thus to his son, Pedro II.:—

"My beloved son and my Emperor, very agreeable are the lines which you wrote me. I was scarcely able to read them, because copious tears impeded my sight. Now that I am more composed, I write this to thank you for your letter, and declare that, as long as life shall last, affection for you will never be extinguished in my lacerated heart.

"To leave children, country, and friends is the greatest possible sacrifice; but to bear away honour unsullied, there can be no greater glory. Ever remember your father, love your country and my country, and rest

assured that the world will admire you, and that I shall be filled with gladness at having a son so worthy of the land of his birth. I return to Europe; it is necessary for the tranquillity of Brazil, and that God may cause her to reach that degree of prosperity of which she is eminently capable.

"Adieu, my very dear son! Receive the blessing of your affectionate father, who departs without the hope of ever seeing you again.

"D. Pedro de Alcantara.

"On board the 'Warspite' frigate,
"April 12th, 1831."

The following day Dom Pedro went on board the English corvette 'Volage,' and before nightfall the ex-Emperor left Brazil for Europe.

CHAPTER VII.

"THERE IS MANY A LIFE ON RECORD IN WHICH UNHAPPINESS, FAILURE, AND MISCONDUCT MAY BE AS CLEARLY REFERRED BACK TO STRONG NATURAL PROPENSITIES THWARTED, AS THE STREAM CAN BE TO ITS SOURCE."—Reflections on Sir B. Brodie's "Autobiography," in *Athenæum*, April 15, 1865.

Author at the Royal Institution in London—Goes to South America, connected with mines—Returns to England, and, disappointed in continuing his scientific career, goes with Sir J. M. Doyle, as a volunteer, to Portugal—Leaves London for Oporto—Colonel Rochfort—Arrival in Oporto—Sartorius attacks Miguelite fleet—Foz Castle—Flags of contending parties—Route to Oporto—Bullock carts—Warlike appearance of the city—Presented to Dom Pedro; his appearance—Sir J. M. Doyle introduces the cadets to Dom Pedro—Alleged cruelties of Miguelites, no quarter!—Fine climate and beautiful vegetation—Roused from a reverie by too close proximity of a cannon shot—No officers' pay, forced economy—Desertion—Dom Miguel at Coimbra—Details of Sartorius' attack on the Miguelite fleet, not properly recognised—Details of Miguelite army, and finance.

I WILL now offer a few words about myself; then commence my observations and gatherings in regard to the lengthened siege and most gallant defence of constitutional liberty in the city of Oporto—the conclusion of the War of Succession. Other matters connected with Portuguese affairs up to the present time will follow.

Having been laboratory assistant at the Royal Institution from 1820 to 1825 (Mr. Brande being professor of chemistry, and Mr. Faraday the chemical assistant; Sir H. Davy an occasional visitor), I proceeded to Peru, connected with mining affairs. The unsettled state of that country, having just emancipated itself from the despotism of Spain, coupled with the then serious monetary crisis in

Europe, soon brought the mining operations I was connected with to a close. I returned to England in 1831, and pursued my chemical studies, in the hope of obtaining the chemical assistantship at King's College, just established in London. I was sorely and unexpectedly disappointed. This changed my views of life; my strong natural propensities had been thwarted.

Being at a party in September, 1832, I met with Sir John Milly Doyle,* who was then beating up for volunteers for Donna Maria II. Those who wished to obtain commissions saw Sir John at his lodgings, No. 4 Somerset Street, Portman Square, or in the City at the "Bay Tree" or "Edinburgh Castle." There was a rendezvous for men in Westminster. Señor Mendizabal was a most active agent for Donna Maria; the city commercial houses of Carbonnel, Van Zeller, and others most cordially assisted the cause of Donna Maria.

Sir John observed to me in glowing terms that my scientific and mining knowledge would be most available in connection with artillery and engineering. I had a liking for such studies, having the idea of entering later the Turkish service, where pay and preferment were satisfactory; so I looked upon the present occasion as a good opportunity to get some schooling in the art of war.

* Sir J. M. Doyle began his military career in the British Army; was afterwards appointed to a Portuguese regiment during the Peninsular War. He is said to have been the first, about 1821, to send a steamer across the Bay of Biscay to Portugal; he occupied himself in establishing stage coaches in that country. Being an active Liberal Don Miguel threw him into prison, "and thus made him a martyr and a public man." Through O'Connell's influence he was elected M.P. for Carlow. He always spoke of Dom Miguel as "that vile vagabond." At the conclusion of the War of Succession he remained some time in Portugal; he had claims on the Government which were not settled. He became one of the Military Knights of Windsor, and died there.

As to the politics of contending parties in Portugal, they concerned me but little; still I must own to have had Liberal sentiments. It was occupation I wanted, and away I went, trusting to not a very good chapter—the chapter of accidents. For a few days myself and others met Sir John at an eating-house in Threadneedle Street, to know when and how we were to be despatched to forthcoming scenes and dreams of promotion and glory. We had to meet rather secretly, for we were acting contrary to the provisions of the Enlistment Act.

My collection of minerals, herbarium, surveys, drawings, journals, &c., the result of my late explorations in South America, were packed up and stowed away. With a valise containing the more necessary clothing, and habited in a military frock-coat and cap, sword,* and Spanish cloak, I was ready.

On the 6th October, 1832, myself and others got final orders to rendezvous that night at the "Black Horse," Tower Hill. Several of the party "kept it up," but the more prudent turned in. I had a grief which I kept to myself—that of having been disappointed in continuing my scientific career; and, although of buoyant spirits, I felt a sadness of heart I could not dispel. To live or die appeared to be immaterial, and I said with Cassius, "Why, he that cuts off twenty years of life cuts off so many years of fearing death."

The next day, with fifteen gentlemanly comrades, I got to Union Stairs, and then on board the 'City of Londonderry' steamer, Sir John M. Doyle accompanying us to Woolwich. On the 10th we put into Plymouth for coals.

* During our sortie of 17th November, I found a steel Miguelite scabbard on the field. I soon had a blade made to fit, and wore it throughout the siege.

Here we heard that 150 men had been shipped from London to Oporto, 300 from the Isle of Wight, and another lot was starting from Plymouth. We met here many Portuguese officers who had been in England for the last three years; they were in a most excited state at not having the means to join Dom Pedro; they were also very much in debt—however, after a time they all got to Oporto. The same night we got to Falmouth and put up at the "Green Bank" hotel. The 12th was Dom Pedro's 34th birthday, which was duly celebrated; a distinguished Liberal, Senhor Paiva e Pereira, took the chair.

Sir J. M. Doyle and his nephew, Bentinck Doyle, came from London by mail; they sailed for Oporto on the 14th in a schooner, with some of our party.

On the 19th, a small craft put in to Falmouth with a company of Poles on board, on their way to Oporto; they had been nineteen days from Dover and were in a state of starvation. Senhor Carvalho, an agent of Dom Pedro's, attended at once to their wants.

Those of our party who had been left behind were promised that in a day or so a vessel would put into Falmouth, in which we were to go. We somehow or other had not much faith in the promised vessel.

The sailing day of the packet 'Royalist' for Portugal was the 20th October: in it myself and companions, including Senhor Paiva and son, went as passengers. On board was Colonel Henry Rochfort, a gay, handsome man, and rather a celebrity. He had been an artillery officer in India, had distinguished himself during the three days of July, 1830, in Paris, which upset the would-be absolute Charles X., and placed the French crown on the head of Louis Philippe, "the citizen king." Rochfort was now on his way to serve Donna Maria.

On the 29th the 'Royalist' came before Oporto, our party going on board Admiral Sartorius' ship, then to a small steamer to convey us inside the Douro. On board of this steamer was the Admiral, who kindly greeted us, and appeared to be of amiable and unpretending manners. We learned that, a few days before, on the 11th, with two frigates, he had gallantly smashed into Dom Miguel's fleet that had come out of Vigo, its neutral harbour of refuge, damaged it, and sent it to the right about to Lisbon.

We steamed over the bar, passing our Castle of Sao João and town of Foz,* on which was hoisted Donna Maria's flag of white and blue; whilst on the other side of the Douro was seen the white flag of Dom Miguel.†

Passing on the north, or Pedroite side, the village of Sobreiras, and further on that of Ouro (from which Douro), we were landed at a temporary arsenal, and now I considered that I had commenced soldiering.

Ouro and the arsenal were not five hundred yards from the south or Miguelite side of the river; a field-piece moving about and pickets ought to have annoyed the Pedroites landing at the arsenal in particular.

* Mouths of rivers in Portugal are generally called "Foz," from *Fauces*, mouth.

† Dom Miguel's flag was white, with the arms of Portugal in the centre. Donna Maria's, blue and white, with arms of Portugal in the centre, surmounted by a crown. The motto, "In hoc signo vinces." Supporters, two dragons. The arms consist first of a shield, having on another shield five small ones, and may have reference to the shields taken from the five conquered Walis or Moorish governors at the battle of Ourique. Each of these has five dots called *quinas*, said to represent the five wounds of "Nosso Senhor." On the surrounding shield are seven castles, which appear to refer to the Seven Infantes of Lara, decapitated through the machinations of Ruy Velasquez. Some of the blood of the Laras is traced to the Kings of Portugal. The ground of the Portuguese Royal Standard, hoisted when the Sovereign is present, is red.

The screaming, rickety, snail-progressing bullock-carts* of the country were placed at our disposal for the conveyance of baggage to the city.

We had a good tug up the steep banks of the Douro from the arsenal to Lordello, getting into the main road from the Foz to Oporto. It was still hot weather, and what with helping the carts out of deep ruts and over large stones, we had the taste of a rough day's work.

At Villar we came to a trench and barricade across the roads, where a piece of artillery was placed. Having passed, with friendly greetings from the pickets, we pursued our way by the Cordoaria, or rope-walk,† into the heart of the quaint and interesting old city, with its tortuous up-and-down streets and lanes, to Cosmes Hotel at the other end of it.

All we saw partook of a wild, warlike character—soldiers marching in all directions, some with drums beating, in all sorts of uniforms, very much the worse for wear, and looking anything but well-fed. Now and then officers on horseback passed us rapidly, going to or coming from head-quarters. It was a novel and exciting scene.

* The Portuguese bullock-cart is quite a curiosity. It consists of a long stout pole, running from underneath, and supported by the heavy ornamented yoke. There are upright sticks to support the load; all the carts appear to be made for the conveyance of a pipe of wine lengthways. Underneath are attached two wooden bearings in which runs the axle, the ends of which are fixed into the centre of solid wheels. Generally a young girl with a staff leads the oxen, her head covered with a coarse sombrero, white handkerchief under it, coloured ditto round her neck, sky-blue boddice, blue petticoat, and generally bare-footed. The driver with his staff may be her father, a strong, sturdy man, with his sombrero, blue waistcoat, light trousers, shirt well open in front, and sleeves tucked up, cheering the oxen. When at work the screaming creak (*chilrazia*) is something astounding.

† The principal industry of Oporto was the shipment of port wine, and the manufacture of cordage for ships, large earthenware, and tobacco.

Colonel Rochfort was the bearer of despatches from Paris to the Emperor Dom Pedro, also letters from the Empress and Donna Maria. He was good enough to take me along with him, when I had the honour of being presented. Dom Pedro stood to receive us, wearing a plain uniform. He looked thinner than when I saw him at Rio in July, 1830, and more bronzed; now thoughtful—now his countenance beaming with brightness, energy, and decision—but in a moment gentle withal; his greeting was something more than a mere formal royal nod of the head, which acknowledged one, and then wished him gone. I was much impressed in his favour, and the more I saw and heard of Dom Pedro, the more I liked him. He had now taken up his quarters in the Rua Cedafeita (quickly-built street), the palace of Moraes or Carrancas (ugly faces) being rather exposed to Miguelite shot and shell; this was the Court end of the city and contained the billets of the principal officers.

Later in the day I found Sir J. M. Doyle, who was quartered in the mansion of the absent Miguelite Visconde St. Gill. After a pleasant evening with him he made up beds for several of us in the drawing-room.

Sir John having mustered some thirty of us, eligible for commissions, presented us to Dom Pedro, who received us in the kindest manner. It was intimated that I spoke a little Portuguese, when he asked where I had learnt it; I replied, in Rio Janeiro, where I had had the honour of seeing him in July, 1830. He looked pleased, smiled, and shook hands with me.

Sir John had us billeted with him at the mansion of St. Gill, and we made arrangements to mess at Peixe's Hotel, on the supposition that we should have officers' pay.

Of the various rumours which came to our ears the most startling was that concerning the brutality exercised by the Miguelites on their prisoners, more particularly when foreigners. Of Colonel Burrell, who was wounded in the head on the previous 29th September, and after his wound had been dressed was made prisoner, it was reported and believed by many that his eyes had been torn out and his body cut to pieces, and that by the monks; it was also asserted that two Frenchmen had been burnt alive, and that the English and French gave no quarter to the Miguelites!

I asked about Dom Miguel; the answer I got was, "that he was funking, and had gone off in a hurry to Lisbon, fearing a row there."

The window of my room looked into a lovely half-tropical garden, which, although in disorder, was blooming with flowers and studded with orange and lemon trees. The climate was mild, with delicious breezes rippling the waters of the Douro, on which were seen boats stealing up and down, fearing Miguelite shot; on the southern side towered the picturesque Serra Convent, one, if not the principal key of our position, commanded by the determined Torres; beyond was Villa Nova, containing the great port wine stores, and in its rear the enemy's encampments and batteries. Whilst quietly enjoying the scene, I was roused by a cannon shot striking the mansion I was in, from one of the batteries alluded to.

We soon discovered that our own funds would not meet the expenses of an officers' mess, provisions being dear and scarce, so at once each provided himself with provender on his own account. I commenced that same day with a very frugal dinner—a slice of cold bacalhão—fried salt fish and bread, with a draught of new port wine; for dessert some sweet stuff I had purchased from the

Convent of Santa Clara, opposite my quarters. I now laid in a stock of groceries, &c., and was generally my own cook.

At the end of October the desertions at Oporto from one side to the other had been nearly on a par; and, to their credit be it said, not a single commissioned Miguelite officer had so degraded his character—though some of the most influential Miguelites had retired to their homes after the memorable 29th of September.

Dom Miguel was now at Coimbra, when he published an amnesty for all political offences, to the rank of captain inclusive, calling on the people to arm in defence of the throne and altar.

SOME OBSERVATIONS IN REFERENCE TO ADMIRAL SARTORIUS' ACTIONS OF THE 10TH AUGUST AND 11TH OCTOBER.

After Sartorius had landed Dom Pedro and his little army at Oporto on the 8th July, he went off with his squadron to blockade Lisbon.

The Miguelite admiral took advantage of a northerly wind and left the Tagus with his fleet on the 3rd August, in a south-west direction. Did he come out, promising to annihilate Sartorius?

Sartorius* in the 'Rainha,' with the 'Donna Maria' in company, had been blockading Lisbon and taking prizes, when, on the 3rd August, the Miguelite squadron put to sea, consisting of the 'Dom João,' 74 guns, a frigate, 50, two corvettes, 26 each, and two brigs, 20 each. Sartorius' ships sailed better than those of the enemy,

* An old friend, Alfred B. Williams, who was one of the first to join Sartorius, and was in the three naval actions fought by Donna Maria's fleet, gives me notes of the naval operations, from which I offer an account of Sartorius' first action of the 10th August.

especially one of the frigates. On the night of the 10th the said frigate had got much astern of its squadron, when Sartorius edged away gradually down to try and cut her off, board, and capture her; but the seventy-four tacked to meet the frigate. However, Sartorius' two vessels passed close to the frigate's stern, raking in turn in passing. The seventy-four engaged with her lee guns. A shot from Sartorius struck the seventy-four's main cap, which brought down the main-top-mast, &c., the sails covering his guns, and preventing his firing for fear of setting them in a blaze. The Miguelite squadron went off at once to Vigo to refit; Sartorius followed, anchoring at the Baiona Islands to watch his enemy, and prevent him blockading Oporto.

On the morning of the 10th October the Miguelite squadron, commanded by Admiral João Felix, got under weigh, with hope of getting back to Lisbon without molestation; but early the following morning Sartorius, with his so inferior force, brought his enemy at last to action, the official details of which follow:—

"On board the 'Donna Maria,' 11th Oct., 1832,
40 miles from off the Baiona Islands.

"Yesterday at 6 A.M., I observed the enemy's squadron, consisting of a line-of-battle ship, 1 frigate, 2 corvettes, and 2 brigs, coming out of Vigo Bay; I immediately got under weigh from my anchorage off the Baiona Islands, following the enemy; determined, although of so superior a force, to oblige its commander to come to a general action, with the certainty that I should disable his large ships, so that they would be rendered useless for some months. I arranged to fall upon the line-of-battle ship with my two frigates, whilst my two corvetttes went to

occupy the attention of the frigate; however, in the act of nearing to begin the fight, about 1 A.M., there was so little wind that most of my ships could not take up their assigned positions and lend me the assistance I am sure they were anxious to do.

"The result was that the whole fire of the enemy was directed on the frigates and on the brig '23rd July,' then within reach of grape and canister, but more particularly at my frigate and then at the corvette, 'Portuense,' which, however, sustained and replied to the enemy's fire, both by officers and men, with an invincible spirit and courage during four hours and a half; which time having elapsed, and seeing that my larboard rigging had suffered very much, and that some of my guns on the same side were temporarily damaged, I tried to tack to starboard, accompanying this movement with a well-directed fire on the enemy's frigate, which having scarcely effected, the enemy ran away off to the south, when I repaired my damages. It is impossible for me to find terms sufficiently adequate to praise the coolness, bravery, and intrepidity of the officers, seamen, and marines. I have to lament the death of 16 of my men, one being an active and brave officer; 38 are wounded, of whose services I shall be deprived for some time.

"JORGE SARTORIUS."

I again extract from Mr. William's notes:—

On the morning of the 10th October, the enemy was seen to hoist sails and weigh. Beat to quarters, hove sheets, and waited approach. Enemy passed out of the southern channel, and we stood out abreast of them, keeping weather-gage on starboard tack. At midnight we edged away down, and brought on the action. Before leaving

Vigo a secret despatch was forwarded to Sartorius from some Miguelite officers to the effect "that if we would grant them the same rank under the Queen, they would desert and bring over their ships to us, and if agreed to, the signal to be a white flag hoisted at the main, with the letters L.X.A." This was done, and at midnight the action commenced at close quarters with the 'Dom João,' 74, the 50-gun frigate, and 26-gun corvette, continuing fiercely for four hours and a half, when the Dom João bore up, his guns silenced, and made off to Lisbon with the rest of his fleet. We had moonlight for the action.

Our masts, rigging, and sails were so cut to pieces we could not follow for fear of the masts going over the side; therefore after getting a little to rights, we returned to Vigo to refit; the enemy going to Lisbon for the same purpose, which took them till June 1833 before they could put to sea again. The enemy had 228 guns, 2100 men; we had 166 guns and 1098 men.*

Mr. Williams continues:—"The last stroke of eight-bells in the first watch (midnight) had scarcely died away, when myself and a middy, Dorson, were roused with 'We are going into action.' We had gone into the main-top to sleep. We scampered down the rigging, 'midst the hissing and bir-r-r of the double-headed shot, and the still more diabolical hissing of 24lb. rockets from the 'Rainha,' launching them at the 'Dom João.' The roar of cannon became incessant on both sides at pistol-range. The men began to fall. A shot killed the captain of the after-gun, when Commander Shute seized the trigger-line and pointed the gun. 'Steady men—muzzle right—a shake left—well—ready?' bang! Captain Mends sent me to the

* Huggins, the marine painter, published a view of the action, June, 1833.

surgeon to learn the number of killed and wounded. On the lower-deck lie, thickly huddled, our men, terribly mutilated; some with tourniquets on, others with their life's blood ebbing away. I had to pick my way by the glimmer of a purser's dip in a horn lantern. Imagine the groans when by accident my foot came down upon a shattered limb. Middy Dorson had his wounded leg taken out of the socket; he died. Lieutenant Gibson was killed by grape-shot. One gun on the quarter-deck was struck by a 24-pounder shot, splitting it from muzzle to breech; the shot, shivered into pieces, swept the gun's crew into eternity.

On the 12th the dead were sewn up in their hammocks and committed to the deep, many a moistened eye looking on.

We stood in for Vigo, passing a Spanish squadron, continuing up to the watering-place. A peremptory order was sent from the Spanish Admiral to Sartorius to quit the port or he would fire upon him. Our Admiral replied that he would much rather fight the Spanish squadron than contend against the elements in his present shattered condition. The 'Donna Maria' had received eighty round-shot, some through her below the water-line."*

This gallant action did not give the satisfaction it deserved at Dom Pedro's head-quarters. It was considered by non-nautical individuals that Sartorius *ought* to have taken the Miguelite fleet. We will refer to other views on the matter.

Napier observes,† "Sartorius landed at Oporto on the

* At that period Absoluto views prevailed with Ferdinand VII., so he was in alliance with Dom Miguel.

† "Account of the War."

20th October. Little consideration was shown to him either by the Emperor or his Ministers. They had hoped that he would have captured the Miguelite squadron, but they did not take the trouble to reflect that in no one instance had even a well-manned and well-disciplined British frigate taken a line-of-battle ship."

Justice* must be done to a brave man, Admiral Sartorius; he had aided in the most able manner the laying the foundation-stone for the fabric raised by Dom Pedro. Dom Miguel's fleet appeared off Oporto; about the 11th August all betrayed horror and confusion—when right before the wind came two frigates, like falcons eager to pounce upon their quarry. The two vessels bore down upon seven sail of such superior force, as direct as an arrow from a bow; they did it nobly, boldly, and without hedging. The Miguelite squadron made off.

"Um Portuense" says—The usurper Dom Miguel declared Oporto to be blockaded, in the hope of preventing supplies coming by sea; but the merchant vessels, with provisions, &c., knew they would be protected by Sartorius. Then the Liberal squadron, hovering about the coast, prevented the Miguelite troops coming by sea to Oporto, thus forcing them to march over land at great loss of time, much fatigue to the soldiery, and extra expense.

The government of the usurper ordered Lisbon to be illuminated on the night of the 10th in celebration of the taking of the Liberal fleet! an absurdity speedily made apparent by the arrival in the Tagus of the severely punished "Dom João VI." This was surely a good set-off to the unfortunate affair of Souto Redondo of the

* "Civil War in Portugal."

7th of August, which the Miguelites claimed as a great victory.

Details of the Miguelite army in November, 1831 :—*

		MEN.
3	Regiments of Artillery, (36 guns and 750 mules)	4,000
8	„ Cavalry, and 5 Companies of Police, (2,900 horses) .	5,600
16	„ Infantry of the Line.	
4	„ Caçadores.	
	Bodies of Police Infantry of Lisbon and Oporto, and Battalion of Engineers, with 4 pieces of cannon	24,000
49	Battalions of Royalist Volunteers (200 horses),	18,400
50	Regiments of Militia	27,600
		80,000

Or 51,000 for the Army of Operations;
29,000 in the provinces, fortresses, &c.

Besides this regular force, Dom Miguel had the substantial help of the monks, public employés, and others who were armed; also numerous bodies of guerillas in the third line, exempt from service in the first and second lines.

The army of operations was divided into five divisions,

* Soriano, I. 363.

independently of a movable column on the south of the Tagus. The 1st consisted of 10,500 men, with 1030 horse, and 8 guns, under Lieut.-General G. T. de Magalhães—(Visconde de Pezo da Regoa), which occupied Lisbon; the 2nd of 9100 men, under the Brigadier Povoas, occupied Leiria, Alcobaça, and Caldas, having Torres Vedras on its right; the 3rd of 8300 men, 388 horse, and 4 guns, under the Brigadier Moraes Sarmento, his left on Cintra and right on Torres Vedras; the 4th of 13,000 men, 600 horses, and 10 guns, under the Visconde Santa Martha, covered the extension line from Figueira to Villa do Conde, and both sides of the Douro, including Oporto; the 5th consisted of about 5600 men, 90 horses, and 6 guns, under the Visconde Mollelos, who commanded in Algarves; while, finally, there was a movable column on the south of the Tagus of 4900 men, 260 horse, and 4 guns, under Brigadier M. da Pinto Silveira, generally between Villa da Almada and Setubal.

The Miguelites estimated the force of their army after Dom Pedro had landed at Oporto, July, 1832, at 82,000 men; the volunteers at 40,000 = 120,000 men; and as the siege progressed, the greater portion of the Miguelite army surrounded Oporto.

Dom Miguel's finances in 1831.*—The state of the finances was one of his worst enemies. In 1822 there was a deficit of 1600 contos of reis (the conto, or one million reis, = £225); after the separation of Brazil there was a deficit of about 5000 contos. The debt contracted from 24th August, 1820, to 30th September, 1822, was about 4000 contos; the Interior debt, at 45,000 contos, includes the paper money then in circulation; the whole of this

* Soriano, I. 371.

being equal to £12,150,000.* There was little or no commerce. Dom Miguel had lately tried to raise a foreign loan of 2000 contos, but was not successful, and his troops and employés were many months in arrear. Recourse was had to a sort of forced loan, in November, 1831, of 1200 contos at 5 per cent., but little of this was taken; then a window tax was tried, but neither was that successful.

* In 1868 the public debt of Portugal was about £47,000,000. In January, 1869, the Royal Family gave up ten per cent. from their annual civil lists.

CHAPTER VIII.

NOVEMBER.

Dom Pedro reviews troops preparatory to a sortie—Dom Miguel at Braga—Freemasonry the cause of Legitimist troubles—Executions of Liberals—Curious notions of military tactics—Bombardments—Recruits from various countries—Bacon's Lancers—Mendizabal sends funds—Oporto most picturesque—Economical meal, not a dinner—Miguelites continue to erect batteries—Villa-Flor made Duke of Terceira—Hands over the command to Dom Pedro—Foreign officers accept privates' pay until they get to Lisbon—Serra Convent—Baronial mansion—Shots riddling houses—Treason at our quarters—Author a Cadet Rifle—Neglect of British officers and men—Colonel Hodges resigns, returns the Order of the Tower and Sword—Strange opinions of Royalty—Malhados and Corcundas—Donna Maria's hymn—Song on Dom Miguel's return to Portugal—Heavy fire on the city—Author Quartermaster of the Rifles—Flint-lock rifles—Rifles of 1866-68—Schwalbach's sortie across the river to destroy Miguelite batteries, Captain Morgell killed—Rifles paraded before Dom Pedro—English in open mutiny for pay—Sortie of the Antas—Shaw, badly wounded, gallantly rescued by Ensigns Cowley and Kierrulff—Cowley's good services unrecognised—Burial of dead—Shooting a deserter—Pedroite and Miguelite forces—French soldiers can tipple—Dissensions—England and France recognise Queen Isabella of Spain—Palmella sent to England and France—Sortie of Carvalhido to destroy enemy's works—English "fight like devils"—Rifle corps unmanageable, the Quartermaster resigns—Short rations—City fiercely shelled—Clothes sold for food.

On the 2nd November, Dom Pedro reviewed 3000 troops; this was preparatory to a sortie.

There could be little doubt that both Dom Miguel and Dom Pedro were well served by spies. On the 3rd we heard that Dom Miguel was at Braga, a little to the north of Oporto, accompanied by his two sisters—that he had

given audience to kiss hands in all the towns through which he passed. He was followed by a numerous train of carriages and litters, and foot-stools, for dismounting, borne by footmen in State liveries. He had 20,000 men in and about Braga; he was much displeased with his generals, and had soundly rated them. The Miguelites should not have allowed their enemy, not 8000 in number, to have landed, when they had more than 80,000 at their command.

I asked a Portuguese officer if he could give me any explanation on this point. He said it was a general opinion that the Miguelites were not anxious to prevent Dom Pedro and his few followers landing, and even taking possession of Oporto (?), for such a state of things would afford a good pretext to batter down the ever-revolutionary city whenever it suited, burying Dom Pedro and his negroes, *malhados*, piebald; *pedreiros libres*, freemasons, in the ruins. I have no doubt that many Miguelites had such dreamy ideas at the time—but it was more positively said that Santa Martha retired in the haste he did from Oporto, fearing wholesale desertion to the ranks of Dom Pedro. There was also a population of about 100,000, the great majority being Liberals.

"Freemason Government in Portugal."—Under this title appeared a series of letters in the *Tablet*, 1865, a London weekly in the Roman Catholic interest, written by A. R. Saraiva, Dom Miguel's old agent in London. Dom Pedro was a freemason, for in a letter to his father, dated Rio, July 15th, 1824, he says, "I, my father, entered myself a mason, and I know that the Fidalgos, in 1806, were invited by the masons, and that they would not join." (Probably concerning some combinations about a contingent regency.) Dom Pedro, in the above letter, called masonry

"a philanthropic institution." Saraiva attributes all the weight of the political troubles, revolutions, and civil wars in Portugal and other countries, to freemasonry. This is not the case; it was Liberalism *versus* worn-out Despotism. He says, "Oh that somebody would point out to me the post-office in the next world; I would willingly incur the expense, stamps and all, in forwarding to the prejudiced Liberator (Dom Pedro), and those of his old tail, who have joined him, a few numbers of the *Tablet*, where I have shown, and will show still more, God permitting, the direful consequences to religion and morals that have followed in my country and its possessions, from the freemason system and government they have so much helped to impose upon Portugal (?). They would perhaps have, in eternity, a little spare time to read what consequences ensued from their proceedings, which we found impossible to make them listen to our reclamations and expostulations 35 years ago." (!)

Saraiva accuses the "Freemason Swindle" of 1820 of serving up the cat for the hare, in the shape of the Spanish Revolutionary Constitution. "There was foisted upon Portugal one of those freemason mushroom constitutions, the daughters of the French Revolution, Voltairian philosophy, and grand-daughter of the Reformation, of Protestantism." (!). Saraiva forgot to add that in 1817 the absoluto regency executed twelve illustrious patriots at Lisbon, among whom was the good old soldier Gomez Freire de Andrade. He was the chief of the masons in Portugal. These executions led to the revolution of Oporto in 1820 against the sanguinary Absolutos.

There is no doubt that Freemasonry was brought wholesale into Portugal by the French in 1807, and, doubtless, a Supreme Grand Council was then formed. It is also most

probable that many of the Liberal party, in particular, were masons, and would materially assist each other politically; however, as the Government of the country had been so long under Apostolic Despotism, masonry had to be carried on in secret. Of late years masonry, under Supreme Grand Councils, has been established in Portugal, as well as Brazil.

I began to examine our lines and batteries, which did not appear of any strength; they were, however, being daily extended. Whilst exploring the nature of the works by the river side, a shell went over my head, and exploded hard by in a new house, setting it on fire. Although shot was continually playing about, occasionally killing and wounding, trade was still brisk. In my rambles I came upon the Praça de St. Ovidio, on the extreme north of the city; here Dom Pedro had a look-out at the Lapa signal-post, 505 feet above the sea, whence he could see nearly all round both lines.

Recruits were now coming in, English, French, Belgians, Poles, Italians, and some Germans. Colonel Bacon, who had the reputation of being a dashing cavalry officer, arrived with 130 lancers. Colonel Cochrane had come with 350 men; but there was a cabal against him, and instead of commanding them as a separate battalion, he was only offered a captaincy in it, which he refused. The foreign troops, it appeared to me, had too much wine served out, and, as a consequence, at times got drunk and disorderly. Of the English, many were rough-looking fellows, but there was plenty of good fighting material in them, and, when judiciously managed and justly treated, there was little fault to find.

Señor Mendizabal was very busy financiering in London, and it was reported that he had been able to procure from private parties £600,000 for Dom Pedro.

The nights were beautiful and clear, when I often wandered up and down the hilly, ancient streets and praças, struck with the beauty and solidity of the churches and convents and mansions, all built of granite, upon hills of the same rock. The churches were visited by a few of the faithful, the convents deserted; and the houses of the Miguelite nobles, who were with "their king," were now turned into barracks and billets.

In a back street, at a small eating-house, I found I could get a meal for seven vintems (the vintem is equal to $1\frac{2}{5}$)d., consisting of salt fish or sardines, bread, potatoes, and a bottle of *pure* port, very new, thin, sour, and highly-coloured; but, as for meat, there was none to be had.

The Miguelites were now erecting new batteries. On our side there seemed to be apathy; still I supposed Dom Pedro's engineers knew their own affairs best. The soldiers on our side were obedient and plucky; feeling they were fighting under the banner of "Liberdade," they roughed it admirably with but poor rations, ofttimes only maize bread, onions, and cabbage leaves, and very little and most irregular pay.

The Conde Villa-Flor, now Duke of Terceira, found it convenient to hand over the command of the army to Dom Pedro, when Sir J. M. Doyle became one of the Emperor's aides.

As money was very scarce, the foreign officers agreed to receive privates' pay until Lisbon should be taken; this, at least, showed some confidence in the cause they had espoused.

I crossed the river with a party to the Serra Convent, which was roughly fortified and commanded by one of the bravest and most energetic officers in Dom Pedro's service —Colonel Torres. To see him was to respect and like him.

His fortress was being continually bombarded and attacked, but he stood his ground with little loss, making considerable havoc with his guns. Whilst there a shell was sent at us; it fell short and did no damage. It is a most remarkable circumstance that the Miguelites did not strongly fortify this commanding position against Oporto, which they could easily have done and have held. Some said it was treason on the part of Santa Martha; others, that he did not wish to be so near the Malhados,* Negros, and Revolutionists, for fear of contamination. There were now a lot of monks at Villa Nova continually firing musket shot across the river, whenever they could get a chance at any one on our side. Pretty ecclesiastical amusement!

On the 7th the mail from England having arrived, I accompanied Colonel Rochfort in quest of the English factory-house, in the hope of having a look at newspapers from home, but found it locked up. Nearly opposite resided an English merchant, Mr. B——, who, observing our disappointment, came out of his house and politely invited us to peruse the English papers, and, moreover, insisted on our partaking of a substantial meal, for which we were very thankful.

As the siege progressed and provisions became scarce, approaching starvation-point, our mercantile countrymen in particular, established in Oporto, were never unmindful of our wants whenever they could assist us.

Colonel Rochfort had quarters in a perfect palace. A shell a few days before had come through the roof and burst in the drawing-room whilst he was there; he had a

* *Malhados.* As Dom Miguel was fond of bull-fighting, and as it was remarked that spotted bulls are the most ferocious, the Absolutos called the Liberals *Malhados*, indicating that the Liberals should be treated as wild-bulls—but they turned out to be too wild even for Dom Miguel.

narrow escape. I often perambulated the now silent chapel, galleries, halls, rooms, stables, vaults, outhouses, and garden of this noble structure, and felt that a novelist would have been delighted with my chance.

One day I went with a Senhor Sampayo to his house, to take a glass of wine and smoke a cigar. Being comfortably settled, a shot from a nine-pounder came through the roof, knocked the tiles and rafters about, went through the room we were in, covering us with dust, struck the top of a high wall, and ricochetted off, to do a little more damage.

These sort of adventures began to be ordinary occurrences. On another occasion, I had gone to look after a wounded comrade, when a ball came in at one corner of the room, going out at the opposite. I got my friend into another and safer billet as soon as possible.

On the 9th, whilst at a rubber of whist, we heard that the major-domo of our quarters at St. Gill was making preparations to set fire to the place. One piece of evidence was, that he had beaten a servant for calling him a Miguelite. We armed; all hands advising, no one obeying. We examined the place, from the vaults to the attics. We discovered a light in the major-domo's room which we ordered him to put out, and remain in his chamber until morning on pain of a bullet through his brains. We kept watch that and several succeeding nights; however, all we discovered in the shape of fire was some burning rags in the dust-heap. Whilst exploring the vaults we came upon a well-stored wine cellar, and more than once drank the absent visconde's health in his own good wine.

On the 10th our party, some forty in number, of gentlemen volunteers—now denominated Dom Pedro's Rifles, being considered as cadets—were ordered to the parade ground of the Seminario, the barracks of the greater

number of the English. Dom Pedro came with Sir J. M. Doyle, making a long and thoughtful visit of inspection. There had been for some time complaints on the part of many of the English officers that they had been neglected. Somehow or other, Sir J. M. Doyle got command of the British troops, when Colonel Hodges immediately resigned the service and left for England. He took with him the good wishes of his old comrades, who felt they had lost a friend, and the cause of Donna Maria a good soldier.

Napier states* that the War Department so disgusted Hodges that he resigned and returned his decoration of the Tower and Sword to the Emperor. Doyle was put in command of the British, which so offended Shaw and others, that many sent in their resignations, which were not accepted. Sir John was shortly removed from the command. After Hodges embarked for England, 400 of the English got under arms, marched to the Emperor's quarters, and demanded their pay.

Sir Charles Shaw communicates to the author that as early as the 28th of October, Hodges had disputes with the Government, caused by Sir J. M. Doyle, and he resigned. Hodges never got a farthing of the pay due to him. He, like other officers of the British army, was engaged under pay and a four years' gratuity, and compensation for any losses they might sustain from the British Government; also compensation for wounds. There was an incredible state of confusion owing to the speeches of Sir John to officers and men. On the 10th of November Doyle put Shaw under arrest, but the latter had a private message from the Emperor to obey, and laugh at the affair. On the 14th, Sir John resigned, whilst Shaw had crossed the Douro with Schwalbach to surprise the enemy.

* "Account of the War."

Pedroites and Miguelites in Oporto talked very freely about Portuguese royalty. The Pedroites asserted that Dom Miguel was the son of a gardener and an irreclaimable savage, and that he was banished from Portugal for conspiring against the life of the King, &c., &c.

The Miguelites said that Dom Pedro was haughty and despotic, but could be civil when it suited his purpose; that he wanted to kill his father in Brazil, but sent him off, and made himself Emperor; that not being able to make the *brava gente brasileira* go his way, and afterwards finding himself politically uncomfortable there, and wishing also to *star* in Europe, he abdicated in favour of his son, declaring his daughter, Donna Maria, Queen of Portugal, without the slightest shadow of right.

Day and night one heard singing about the streets Donna Maria's hymn, composed by Senhor Castro, Secretary to Freire the Minister of War. The Miguelites would roar out to the Pedroites the old cry of "A Malhados" (piebalds); while the Pedroites replied, "O Corcundas" (hunchbacks) and "Gaya Piros" (rogues of Gaya). They would work themselves into a rage, and then run to their batteries and fire away.

The Miguelites would also cry out, "Your King may sit in his chair and see all his dominions at a glance!" The Pedroites rejoined, "that they did not know the extent of their kingdom, but that the Miguelites had been nine months marching and had not yet arrived at their capital."

DONNA MARIA'S HYMN.

A filha de Pedro, Rainha ha de ser
Por ella juremos, Vencer ou morrer.
Chorus.—As armas ó Luzos, O ferro empunhemos
Maria Segunda, ao throno elevemos
As armas, as armas, as armas.

Nos maõs da Rainha, Vengando a seu Pai
Punir O Tyrano, O Luzos jurai.
Se a patria voltarmos, Com as armas na mão
Será nosso grito, A Constitucão.
Se para o teu solio, For de sangue à estrada
Morte sangue espalhe, Dos Luzos a Espada.
Em quanto hum proscripto, Hum só respirar
Não ha de o Tyrano, Seguro reynar.

The first verse may be thus translated:—

"The daughter of Pedro, our Queen she shall be;
For her let us swear to die or be free.
To arms then, brave Lusians, your swords bravely wield,
And Queen Mary's throne your arms let them shield—
To arms, then! to arms, then! to arms, then!"

The chorus of Dom Pedro's hymn was:—

"Viva, viva, viva Pedro
Viva è Santa Religão,
Viva Maria Segunda
Liberal Constitucão."

Whilst, on the other side of the river, the Miguelites screamed out their favourite song:—

"Dom Miguel chegou a terra
Sua mai lhe deu á mao
'Vem cá meu rico filho
Não queiras constitucão.'
Rei chegou! Rei chegou!
E em Belem desembarcou."

Or—

"Dom Miguel has come to land—'
His mother gave to him her hand:
'Come hither my beloved son,
Do not have the Constitution."
The King has come! The King has come!
And has landed at Belem."

This is the first verse of a song composed on the return

of Dom Miguel to Portugal, after his four years of forced travels.

On the 13th the enemy, now under a new commander, the Conde Barbacena, poured into the city a heavy fire from eight of their batteries on the south—so our side set to work to build others to oppose them.

Our Cadet corps was now formed, and placed under the command of an old rifle officer, Captain Phaelan. The author was one of this body, then numbering about thirty, never more than forty; and as officers of the foreign regiments were killed off, so were our chances of commissions in the British battalions.

Quarters, such as they were, were given us in Rua Montebello, Campo Grande, very near to the north-east lines. We began to draw daily rations—1 lb. beef, 1 lb. bread, half a pint of wine—and accepted privates' pay. Until we could get a rifle uniform made—for we were the only corps that had rifles—we had artillery undress served out—blue turned up with red—and in this guise we went to see the Emperor, who sent General Valdez to thank us. I was appointed quartermaster. I picked up a chubby, almost naked boy, José Gomez, making him my orderly, and a capital fellow he turned out, accompanying me daily to the Seminario for the rations.

Our rifle drill now commenced, which did not give much trouble, for we were all pretty good shots.

I do not think there were at this period a hundred flint-lock rifles in Oporto. We had fifty handed to us. Subsequently rifles were given to an Italian volunteer company.

The British had muskets, many with the "Tower mark;" the French had muskets either from France or Belgium; the Portuguese may have had some of English make, but

they also had some of the roughest things of Peninsular manufacture. This was in 1832.*

On the 14th Schwalbach, our Blucher, with 1500 men, made a sortie across the river from the 'China' to Quebrantões, in the face of 6000 of the enemy. He succeeded in disabling the S. Christavão, Bandeira, and Pinhal, three of the enemy's batteries, one of which had eleven guns in it. Torres sallied forth from the Serra, giving a good helping hand. The Pedroites killed and wounded about 500 men, took 80 prisoners, and 74 volunteers passed over; but we lost, in killed and wounded, at least 100 men. Among the former was the brave Captain Morgell,† who had

* 1866. Compare with the percussion rifle of this date or the Prussian needle-gun—but especially with the breech-loader to be made out of the Enfield for the British Army, Volunteers, and Militia. The cap and cartridge for the new breech-loader are now made up together and fired by a hammer striking a bolt. As compared to the Prussian needle-gun, the efficiency is nearly four times greater in accuracy and rapidity of fire. Seven rounds per minute have been fired from the needle-gun, whilst twenty-one have been fired from English breech-loaders—say ten for an average, with an average deviation of only four inches at a range of 500 yards. Then the cartridge cannot be rendered useless, if accidentally it should fall into the water. 1868.—Riflemen have sure practice at three-quarters of a mile; field artillery, from two to three miles. November.—Experiments at Shoeburyness: the longest range on record was by Whitworth's nine-inch muzzle-loader gun of 14 tons, firing a shot of 250 lbs., with a charge of 50 lbs.; the range was 10,300 yards (nearly six miles), which exceeds by 225 yards that made by a seven-inch Lynall-Thomas gun! 1869. February.—Captain Moncrieff has just been financially rewarded for his beautifully protected barbette gun-carriage, in a gun-pit.

† Captain Morgell was a lieutenant of the 'Chacabuco,' under Lord Cochrane, in Chile, in 1818. He gallantly put down a mutiny on board that vessel in January, 1819. Cochrane left Valparaiso with the Chilian fleet, including two fire-ships, in September of same year, arriving at Callão on the 30th. On the 5th October, Lieutenant Morgell stood into the bay with one of the fire-ships, at eight p.m., towards the Spanish shipping; but the wind dying away, it exploded at too great a distance to do any serious mischief. In July, 1822, Captain Crosbie cut out in the

co-operated in this daring affair to destroy the Furada mortar battery, which was opposite the arsenal on the river. Morgell's body was rescued from the enemy by the extraordinary exertions of Captain George, of the Pedroite Navy. With Morgell fell Lieutenant Hayward, and six men. There were fourteen wounded of this party. Dom Pedro himself, from the Seminario battery, became artillery-man. By half-past nine a.m. the fierce affair was over. I saw many of the wounded, several mortally, carried to the hospitals, their blood sprinkling the streets, and death marked in their bronzed and haggard faces. But they cried out "Viva la patria," "Viva Donna Maria II."

We learnt that the Miguelite dead were stripped and bundled into holes like so much carrion. Our wounded left in the enemy's hands, it was feared, had no quarter—better had they been killed outright.

Our rifle corps was ordered to present themselves in marching order before Dom Pedro, which was done much to his satisfaction, and he duly notified this to us in person, talking to several of us. On returning to our quarters, we met one of the English battalions, in open mutiny, on their way to Dom Pedro, their main complaint being that their pay was long in arrear. He at once good-humouredly ordered them to be paid. We had been on the tramp in heavy marching order for many hours, often in torrents of rain. It became very dark, when we got bogged occasionally in the mud in reaching our quarters. Our path was every now and then lit up by the bursting of Miguelite shells.

most masterly manner three merchant vessels in Callao harbour. In these affairs Captains Morgell and Simpson particularly distinguished themselves. Simpson (an Englishman) has been for many years Admiral and a Chilian Senator.

For eight vintems each, a number of us went to the gallery of the theatre on the night of the 16th. The performance consisted of "La Heredera Legitima de Ormuz" ("the legitimate inheritress of Ormuz"), an Italian song, and a Portuguese farce. We at least got a lesson in Portuguese.

Returning, we were met by Sir J. M. Doyle, who ordered us to quarters, to get under arms at once with plenty of ammunition.

The enemy on the north had been reinforced with fresh troops under Telles Jordão; their batteries and entrenchments had been rapidly augmented, particularly a strong one at Pedra do Cão, in front of the Foz. All this showed a change in their plan of operations from attacks to serious bombardments on the city. There was some desertion of the Portuguese, as well as from the English and French, to the Miguelites, principally on the score of getting provisions.

Oporto was not provisioned in any way for the support of its inhabitants and the army. The winter was approaching, and the bar at the mouth of the river was almost impassable by reason of the tempestuous weather. Under these circumstances Dom Pedro resolved upon a sortie on the north, to attack and destroy entrenchments and batteries in that direction, fire the enemy's camps, and in a measure open the way for the entry of food.

From official report—on the 17th, Schwalbach, with a column composed of the 1st and 6th Infantry, a portion of the English, Guides and Lancers, marched out on the Vallongo road. A body of the 5th Caçadores occupied the Antas heights, dislodging the enemy posted there. Then they protected the movements of the 3rd Caçadores and Atiradores under Sequeira, going by the Captivo

battery to attack the enemy posted in that direction. Part of the 2nd Caçadores advanced by the S. Cosme road, protecting the right. Schwalback drove off the pickets in front of the chapel of S. Roque, half a league from the city, on the Vallongo road, following them up. Soares, with 200 of the 2nd Caçadores, advanced by the S. Cosme road and forced the enemy back beyond the Ponte de Campanhã. The column under Zeferino, which had marched by the Captivo, found a large force in his front well intrenched, which obliged him to prolong his line to the Regateira road, dislodging the enemy from all their positions, which he kept during the sortie.

Whilst the right and centre columns of the enemy were hard at it, the volunteers of Donna Maria at Agua-ardente, under Pimentel (who got badly wounded), attacked and dislodged the enemy from positions they had taken up in his direction. A portion of the 18th, commanded by Miranda, attacked Fort Covello, to the left of Agua-ardente, when, after great resistance, they overcame the enemy, making prisoners. Thus, in a distance of half-a-league, from Valbon to Covello, the Miguelite entrenchments and batteries were destroyed and camps burnt; so for many days afterwards some provisions found their way in from the surrounding country. The Liberals lost about 200 in killed and wounded, 17 being officers. Captain Glascock says, "As usual the British and French bore the brunt of this fight."

This was the first field-day of the Rifle corps, also that of the Lancers under Colonel Bacon. On our march out, Sir J. M. Doyle ordered me off to bring up a party of Italians, which I did, and was in time to assist in taking a battery near the Antas and burn a camp. During this victorious fight, and whilst the Rifles were hard at it,

Major Shaw, who was in command of the eastern lines, was borne past on a door very badly wounded in both thighs and with a contused shoulder from three shots he had received; he had been most gallantly rescued by Ensigns Cowley and Kierrulff. We promised him to give a few well-directed shots on his account, for which he thanked us. Dom Pedro, who was at the Red House battery during the day, must have been satisfied with the work he had seen accomplished.

Having got back to quarters as hungry as wolves, I quickly served out the rations, and as each was his own messman, to work we went cooking; and, while the camp-kettles were boiling, cleaned our arms.

Our side lost about 200 in killed and wounded. The wounded were taken to the hospitals in the city, the dead were buried within the walls. Our killed would be generally collected and stripped whilst a pit or trench was being made; some note taken of who they were, and then the trench covered up. At the muster of the regiment it would be seen who were missing—as killed, wounded, taken prisoners, or deserters.*

Thirty-three years afterwards, the author had occasion to correspond with Mr. Cowley.

Extract of a letter from Ensign Cowley, dated—

"Home Park, Windsor, Dec. 28, 1865.

"Well do I recollect handing our beloved Major Shaw to the care of some men, after almost carrying him up the side

* When possible, the killed in action are buried with military honours. But in general they are stripped and plundered on the field of battle. This custom may have arisen from soldiers generally wearing a belt containing their money under their shirts. After a battle those who remain on the field supply themselves with good shirts and shoes from the dead.

of the hill, and down pretty nearly to the base of the other, assisted by Ensign Kierrulff, with a host of Miguelite riflemen pinging at us, and rushing like maniacs to blood their bayonets in an Englishman's breast; and I well remember calling on our men to rally, and seeing the welcome faces of a body of rifles coming up in close column at the double to our support. Can it be possible you were of that gallant band, and that after so many years I should only now be able to tell you I heartily thanked your appearance at that moment? You must have seen me—a tall, thin boy—standing alone on the side of that hill when you came up, screaming to the men who had stopped their flight to come on, and come on they did, and, as you know, maintained the post on that hill until the enemy retired. I have never thought anything of all this; but now, when I see about me men decorated for acts I should have deemed only common humanity in the Portuguese war, I feel a little dissatisfied at having nothing to show for all I suffered and what I did."

Extract of letter from Sir C. Shaw, 6th May, 1865, to Mr. Cowley, Windsor Castle:—

"On the 17th November (1832) the enemy was pressing sharply on us, and the Emperor sent for my battalion to try and stop them; none of my officers or men had ever before been under fire, and as we were marching to the spot indicated under a heavy fire, I watched all the young officers so as to be able to judge in whom I could place the greatest reliance when we halted. I saw it was necessary to have reinforcements, as the enemy had almost got between us and Oporto. I recollect calling you, and then saying, 'Cowley, you must go through that field where you

see the balls tearing up the dust with a message, and as you are going to the rear you must walk very slowly, with a devil-may-care look, deliver your message, and come back here as hard as you can pelt.' You executed my orders admirably.

"I then took up a position behind the little wall outside Lugar das Antas, and you and Ensign Kierrulff were most active in assisting me to form the men. There was afterwards a tussle at the wall, where I got a severe blow on the shoulder from the enemy.

"We retired again, when I received a shot in the left thigh, which did not disable me; but another shot, hitting me in the right thigh, prostrated me at once, and the enemy seeing me fall, leapt the wall and were within a few yards of me when you and Kierrulff carried me off, and saved me from being bayoneted." *

On the 19th, our Rifles marched with detachments of regiments to witness the shooting of a deserter of the 3rd Caçadores, in the Campo S. Ovidio. He had arranged with seven others to go over to the enemy, but when entering the Miguelite lines, his party repented and wished to return. He would not. A fight took place, when he wounded four; the other two overpowered him and brought the deserter back. His pluck deserved a better fate.

We formed a hollow three-quarter square. The roll of

* Major Blair gave Cowley a certificate, dated Almoster, the following year, stating "that Cowley was constantly present at the harassing duties of the Foz (at Oporto), and had served with him in all the actions since in which the Marines had been engaged." Up to December 1868, Mr. Cowley had not even received the medal for the "Campanhas da Liberdade," although he had long since duly applied for the same. He well merited the order of the Tower and Sword, or medal of *Merito Militar*, for rescuing his commanding officer from the bayonets of the enemy."

half-a-dozen soldiers told off to shoot the prisoner—the crime and sentence read—his eyes bandaged—then the dread volley!

> "Oh God! it is a fearful thing
> To see the human soul take wing
> In any shape, in any mood;
> I've seen it rushing forth in blood!
>
> BYRON—*Prisoner of Chillon.**

On the 20th, the Miguelite batteries of Villa Nova poured shot and shell continuously the whole day into the city, doing, as a matter of course, much damage.

It was generally reported that the Pedroites had from 13,000 to 14,000 men under arms, including volunteers; however, Colonel Hodges, in his work, gives as under, for this period:—

Infantry of the line, including 3 Battalions of British, and 1 French	5650
Oporto Volunteers	2200
French and English Cavalry	150
Guides	100
Effective force	8100
3 field-pieces, 9 pounders; 3 of 6; 3 of 3; and 3 $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch howitzers.	
Portuguese troops in hospital	760
British ,, ...	130
French ,, ...	96
	9086

* In Spain the culprit is sometimes tied to a post, having a seat. After execution, the body may be handed to friends or the Church for interment, when it is carried off the ground in a coffin. With the English, when shooting for desertion or military crimes, the victim is placed in such a position that he receives the fire and falls into a grave already dug.

We had now about 20 batteries of all sorts and sizes, exclusive of the Foz castle and the Serra convent.

Dom Miguel had before Oporto at least 30,000 infantry, 9 squadrons of cavalry, abundance of horse artillery, to say nothing of the number of guns in his 30 batteries, 20 being on the south of the Douro.

Up to this time the Serra convent had been unsuccessfully attacked nine times, the enemy being generally repulsed with great slaughter, by its valiant defender Torres and his devoted men.

The Miguelites had a battery called the Pinhal, above Villa Nova, which was rather annoying to vessels stealing in with recruits, provisions, horses, &c.; however, on one occasion, out of twenty-three of their shots, only four told!

French soldiers can tipple as well as English. Returning to quarters from Sir J. M. Doyle's with a comrade on the night of the 21st, pitch dark, and the rain coming down in torrents, we heard a heavy splash, then a gurgling sound. We made for the spot, when we found a man struggling in the deep ditch, now full of water, at the redoubt of Seda Feita. After a time we got the individual out, who proved to be a French soldier. He had taken too much wine, lost his way, and slipped into the ditch. He was all gratitude, calling us "Mes saveurs—mon colonel—mon capitaine." The ducking had sobered him, and he went his way heaping maledictions on the wine he had taken too much of.

The wintry weather had now set in with heavy rains and gales of wind, which were not propitious for fighting. There was much quarrelling amongst the officers of the English regiments, which demoralized the men, and, as pay was by no means regular, barrack rows were of frequent occurrence. There were many officers without

commands; even some of the Rifle Corps not getting commissions, and not admiring the rough service they were on, talked of leaving Oporto. Dom Pedro himself was surrounded by political, military, and other squabblers.

However, in the midst of these troubles, we heard from Spain that the "Constitution" had been proclaimed there, and that England and France had recognised Isabella II. This was bad news indeed for Dom Miguel,* who was now levying heavy forced loans, particularly in Lisbon.

Dom Pedro sent two of his ministers, Palmella and Mouzinho, to England and France, doubtless to thank the French and English governments for their political action in regard to Spain, so favourable to him; also to look after the raising of funds for himself.

Napier gives the following information for this period:—

Palmella left Oporto on the 22nd November, in the 'London Merchant' steamer. On board, General Mina was also embarked. He had been examining various parts of the coast of Spain and Portugal (in disguise).

Palmella's mission to England was to raise funds, and obtain, if possible, the direct interference of England and France in Donna Maria's favour. France and England refused to interfere, except Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel left Portugal. It was absurd to ask this from Dom Pedro. He, with all his faults, was the heart and soul of the cause.

On the arrival of Palmella in London, Napier proposed to him to embark the army from Oporto at the Foz, to hire a dozen steamboats, run up the Tagus at night, land at Black Horse Square, and settle the question at once. This was easier said than done.

* The Miguelites were very wroth at the bad news for them from Spain, and on the 26th they gave us shot and shell for many hours. Two of the Rifles very narrowly escaped from a round shot.

Sortie of Carvalhido.

The official report is as follows:—

The enemy had united large forces in front and on the left; they had also continued to construct considerable works, which effectually prevented provisions coming into the city. The sortie of the Liberals of the 28th November had for its main object to damage, if not destroy, some of these new works, which would interfere with the landing of the expected arrival of men, horses, and munitions of war from England and France. General Brito had his orders to march out with a force by the Ramalde road; another under Queiroz, by the Padrão da Legua. At midday both columns rushed out, surprised the enemy's pickets, and damaged the entrenchments, carrying all before them as far as São Gens and the Senhora da Hora; whilst those who had been Miguelite prisoners, under Barreiros, destroyed works, and set fire to their former comrades' camps. By two p.m., the camps of Serio, Padrão, Hora, Ramalde, Boucas, and Serralves were in flames. Fifty-two prisoners were taken, and twenty-two deserters came over.

This sortie struck the enemy with a panic, and they lost about 1000 men. The Liberals returned at 4 p.m., having suffered a loss of 272 in killed and wounded, including 32 officers. The rapidity with which the sortie was executed was a complete surprise, and Telles Jordão, the commander, hereabouts was nearly taken prisoner.

I was, with our corps and some Italian Rifles, placed in the battery of Bom Sucesso as a reserve. On our right the English and Caçadores engaged the enemy, driving them back gallantly, setting fire to their camps. Our side, on returning with prisoners, bullocks, and all sorts of camp

plunder, had a march stolen on them by the enemy. A severe fight ensued, in which our side lost a good many men. A Caçador officer, very badly wounded and bleeding, was brought past us shouting, "Viva e liberdade." General Schwalbach told me in the evening that the English fought like devils in this affair, but without method; still it was no bad way to do the work.

On getting to quarters, the Rifle Corps was in a most disorderly state; and, having served out the day's rations, I requested the commanding officer, Captain Phaelan, to accept my resignation as quartermaster.

At first our rations were good and plentiful, but as provisions became scarce, so did our rations become beautifully less—from fresh beef to salt, then salt fish, then rice instead of biscuit.

That same night the city was furiously shelled. One shell fell and exploded, setting fire to a flax warehouse, as well as to the convent of Santo Domingo. On this occasion, the great gun "Joã Paolo Cordeiro" was much used by the Miguelites, and was materially to assist in destroying Oporto! This gun was placed on the Gaya battery; the sailors on board the 'Orestes' called it the "84-stone gentleman."

Having no official duties, I took to examining the batteries and lines, looking about the city, and visiting comrades who had been wounded on the 28th. It seemed to me that no complaints could be made as to hospital treatment. Many began selling spare clothes for food. Bartering was the order of the day—I exchanged an umbrella for a first-rate haversack.

On the 30th there was much firing upon the city, killing some and wounding many of the inhabitants. I went on board the 'Villa-Flor' in charge of Lieutenant Salter, an

old South American friend, thence to dine on board the 'Mindello,' Captain Ruxton. These vessels were about leaving the river to get out of the way of Miguelite shot. Admiral Sartorius was going in one of them to the fleet, then in winter quarters at Vigo.

CHAPTER IX.

DECEMBER.

The Rifles steal a pig—Jew quartermaster—Dom Miguel reviews his troops—Rifles steal another pig, cautioned from high quarters—An old soldier of Bolivar's army—Severe bombardment—"Inez de Castro"—Court news—Not appointed to erect Arabida battery—Provisions scarcer—Energy of Dom Pedro—Marshal Solignac coming to command us—Miguelites fire at British men-of-war; they should get out of their line of fire—Recruits from England—Our "Wine sortie"—Dom Miguel reviews his troops, at same time he could have made a good dash at the city—Affair of the 'Fulminence'—Humanity of Captain Glascock and the Miguelites—Bombarding—Custom House fired—Dealers secrete provisions—British merchants establish soup-kitchens for the inhabitants—Army on very short commons—British Government anxious to settle the war, but it was of the Kilkenny cat sort—Fear of desertions—Christmas Day, got roast meat, was it beef? Reflections—I return to my post as quartermaster—Picket-firing unsoldierly—Mendizabal's brother's opinion of the war—Shaw commands Scotch Fusiliers—Close of 1832—Wellington's Passage of the Douro—His battles in Portugal—Sketch of History of Portugal—Pombal.

1*st December*.—Provisions were getting very scarce, consequently rations were on the short-allowance system. Some of our Rifles chased and stole a pig, whilst others appropriated half a cart to cook it. The celerity with which the porker was killed, scalded, and cut up was something surprising. We had now a Jew from Houndsditch for a quartermaster. Pig's-flesh he called veal. He was fond of a bit of fighting.

There was continual picket-firing, causing us to be on the alert, in momentary expectation of a general scrimmage.

Dom Pedro and his ministers were thought by some to be very slow coaches. I believed he knew better what he was about than the mere talkers and would-be politicians.

Sunday, 2nd.—On returning from service at the English Protestant Chapel—the first allowed to be built in Portugal—the chaplain of which was the Rev. Mr. Whiteley,* shell and shot was poured into the city in large quantities; but the stone walls of the houses, being from two to three feet thick, were capable of standing a tremendous amount of pounding.

The 'Mindello,' Pedroite man-of-war, had accidentally got on shore, but was mistaken by the Miguelites for a British vessel, or she could have been easily sunk by them. She got afloat safely.

On the 3rd, Dom Miguel reviewed those of his troops near to our northern lines, on which occasion we could plainly hear the regimental music of the enemy.

I was glad to accept a dinner at Baron Kierulffe's, an old German officer; and, when I returned to quarters, found my comrades busy again in another stolen-pig anatomy. This nearly got us into difficulty, for it was stoutly sworn to that the Rifles had been the thieves; however, the proofs were not sufficient to lead to a conviction—"not proven;" still, we received an intimation from a high quarter not to show too great a predilection for other people's pork.

During one of my rambles I met with a fellow-countryman, terribly out at elbows, and in a miserable state of health. I entered into conversation with him, when he told me his name was Captain B——, and that he was brother-in-law of General M——, who was an old South American

* Still alive in 1869.

friend of mine. I took him to my quarters and satisfied the inward man. He informed me he had been an artillery officer in Bolivar's army in Colombia, that he had had many unsatisfactory adventures, had found his way to St. Michael's, was wounded there, left behind, but had come on to Oporto to continue soldiering. I had no reason to doubt his story. I stood his friend and he was grateful. I got him into our corps—clothed, armed, and accoutred him—and, after a few days' food and rest, he did me credit. When not on duty, he was always busy cleaning his rifle and seeing that it was in first-rate order, brushing his clothes, polishing his boots, brightening his black belt, doing his best to make himself smart—indeed, the very model of a soldier.

On the 7th the Rifles were moved into better quarters in the Rua Conceicão, near S. Ovidio. At night there was a very severe fire of shot and shell kept up upon the city, accompanied with flights of heavy rockets. On the following day we returned the enemy the compliment as well as we were able—some 150 rounds of shot and shell. Still, with this continual bombardment, killing and wounding the people, and injuring more or less the houses, the general affairs of life went on pretty much as usual, and the poorer classes could be seen at times, particularly in the Praça Nova, enjoying their national dances, concluding them with vivas for Donna Maria II.

Sunday, the 9th, was a grand day at the theatre. The to me Shakespearian-looking tragedy of "Inez de Castro" was performed. I should have liked to have understood Portuguese well, so as to have fully appreciated it.* Then

* I never missed seeing this fine historical tragedy, when announced for performance. It appears to have been written by the poet Gil Vicente, about 170 years after the death of Inez de Castro. This story forms the

came dancing, and the farce of the "Morto Vivo." As there were many British soldiers present, the orchestra gave "God save the King." On returning to quarters, I found our captain in a very bad temper. He quarrelled with all, particularly with myself for having resigned my office as quartermaster. I was to be put under arrest, &c., &c.

13*th December*.—Up to this date, our corps had been denominated "Dom Pedro's British Volunteer Rifle Cadets," but were more generally known as "The Rifles." But with the appearance of the *Chronica*, all those heretofore called cadets were declared to be "Aspirantes à officiaes," and were ordered to wear as a distinction an angular piece of gold lace above the cuff of the right arm.

There were two newspapers in Oporto, the *Chronica* and the *Arauto Portuense*, the former gave the "Court news." From this same date I offer the following specimen :—

"Palace, 12th Dec.—H.I.M. the Duke of Braganza at half-past eight a.m. received details of what had occurred during the night about the lines. At half-past ten a.m. he was engaged with the officers who had the superintendence of the three divisions of the army; afterwards he received those persons who had the honour of speaking to him. At two o'clock he went on horseback accompanied by

subject of the most beautiful episode in Camoen's "Lusiad." What a subject for the dramatist! The Infante's love for the Castilian damsel Inez; their correspondence by the "Fonte de Amores" (the fountain of love) at Coimbra; their secret marriage, and her being placed for safety in what was afterwards called the "Quinta das Lagrimas"—garden of tears; the King's visit to her and her children; his irresolution to kill her; but the murder effected by three of his courtiers, January 7th, 1355. . . . . Dom Pedro's incurable grief. He took up arms against his father. On his accession to the Crown, seven years after the death of his beloved Inez, he had her corpse disinterred, and she was crowned with every splendour. Two of her murderers, Coelho and Gonsalves, were executed, but Pacheco escaped.

Captain Bastos, the officer of the day, and the Commander Almeida, his chamberlain, going from Carvalhido to the extreme right of the lines; after which H.I.M. visited M. St. Leger, Count of Bemposta (who was so severely wounded on the 29th September), returning to the Palace at five o'clock. From eight to ten he had a council of ministers. Shortly after ten he retired to his room, in the best state of health."

My *protegé*, B——, as already mentioned, had been in the Artillery, and I became his willing pupil; we were on the look-out in the hope of being able to distinguish ourselves. We had also become infected with the idea that our side required more batteries; so we went to the pine grove of Rabida, whence the seven-gun battery of the enemy, the Sampayo, could be annoyed. Whilst making the necessary observations, lying down flat and screened, as we supposed, by the pine trees, we were saluted by some round shot, which closed our work during daylight. We imparted our doings to Senhor Texeira, one of Dom Pedro's aides, who gave us a pass to go to and fro at pleasure; indeed we were now on special service. The next night we continued our observations, and creeping along the shores of the river, passed the arsenal, and scaled the abrupt side of the high bank of the river, making for the pine grove.

We were full of elevated, sunken, half-sunken, and other forms of batteries, ditches, berms, parapets, banquettes, trenches, fascines, gabions, flèches, &c., &c., and were at least to have command of the projected battery, with a complement of guns, howitzers, mortars, and rockets!

To our surprise and disgust, on arrival we found we had been forestalled; there were several Miguelite prisoners with a picket in charge of two English officers throwing up a breastwork, under orders of the Colonel of Engineers,

Da Costa. We were sold, and I had the greatest difficulty to restrain the rage and disappointment of my companion; we might have had the compliment paid us of being attached to the party erecting this battery. Monte Rabida was a very exposed position, for during that night and morning the working party had nine wounded.

Provisions were getting scarcer. The young hands complained of the salt beef and pork, when the "old Peninsulars" told them to be thankful, for we should soon be glad to get dead horse, ass, mule, even dogs and cats. I heard casually that at "Cooper's on the wall," a ship-chandler's, there were red herrings for sale at three pence a piece; I hastened there at once, procuring a supply.

Dom Pedro appeared to be the most active man in the army; he was to be seen in the saddle early and late, often with a thoughtful and determined look. I liked to stop and salute him, when he gave a smile. He visited the various barracks and batteries, planning new ones, strengthening the lines, and doing all in his power to ameliorate the sorry condition of the inhabitants of Oporto. It was now reported that the French General, Solignac, would shortly be here to take the command, also that Saldanha might be expected.

The enemy's batteries on the south had been continued to the coast, whence they could fire upon the Liberal men-of-war then in the river, obliging them to think of leaving, which could now only be done at great risk. The 'Ave de Graça' was sunk by the enemy's shot; other vessels, which could not easily be got out, were sunk, so as to prevent their being disabled. It was now that the English man-of-war cutter, 'Raven,' was fired into by the Miguelites, killing a man; the 'Childers,' another man-of-war, was damaged and a man wounded. The

Miguelites in reply to English representations, said that the shot was intended for the Foz, and, as the English vessels were in their line of fire at the time, the occurrences could not be helped. A French ship laden with flour was sunk off the bar, also a Portuguese vessel laden with Indian corn meal.

Just before these events took place there had been landed 500 recruits from England, horses, artillery, and munitions; and there were still outside munitions and provisions waiting for a lull in the tempestuous winter weather to be got on shore.

On the 17th was the "Wine Sortie" on the stores of Cobaço. At 3 a.m. the Rifles marched to the Rabida, when shortly after their arrival came two field-pieces and a howitzer. Our duty was to pick off those we could who might annoy our side from the opposite shore, whilst the guns were to do their best against the Sampayo battery. We now heard that the object of the present sortie was mainly to capture wine, very much needed in the city, belonging to the Oporto Wine Company, at Villa Nova, which had Miguelite sympathies; also to pull down some walls near the Serra Convent, under cover of which the enemy's pickets could fire, without any risk to themselves, at the shore on the other side. Two thousand men were ferried across the Douro, and at it they went, some driving the Miguelites before them, and others broke into the stores, taking out a quantity of wine. Whilst this was going on, the batteries on both sides of the river were engaging smartly with each other. We opened fire from the Rabida on the Sampayo at 8 a.m., and they gave us some forty rounds from their 18-pounders and a few shells in return. We were reinforced by a company of the 3rd English Battalion; so, what with shot, musketry, and

rifles, the enemy had no chance of making a satisfactory dash across the river and attempting to take our guns.

About 2 p.m. we could hear vivas and music in our rear; this, we afterwards discovered, was in consequence of Dom Miguel reviewing his troops in that quarter; there was also some picket-firing in that direction.

Had the enemy known the defenceless state of our lines thereabouts, they could easily, from the north, at this moment have taken the Rabida, the guns and men there.

Our casualties in the battery were two wounded of the 3rd, while our captain was struck by a spent ball on the hand. Two of the Miguelite prisoners who had assisted to build the breastwork, when crossing an open spot, were killed by a round shot. At dusk we returned to the city to miserable quarters, having done fourteen hours' good service. No mess awaited us, so each had to sally forth to purchase a few vintems' worth of bread and fried fish, and, as dessert, boiled rice smothered with cinnamon powder. During the evening we learned that, although a considerable quantity of wine had been taken, and the Convent of San Antonio burnt—for it was from this the Miguelite monks used to pop at our side continually—our loss had been heavy, about seventy-four, including five officers and a general officer killed. The opinion was, that *le jeu ne valait pas la chandelle*.

Captain Glascock was in command of a small British squadron in the Douro during the siege of Oporto. In his "Naval Sketch-book" there is much to be learnt from that portion called "Jack in Oporto." To keep neutral and friendly with both parties was most difficult, still he managed to do so, certainly not to the detriment of the Pedroites in any way. In Marshal's "Naval Biography"

will be found some very interesting official communications connected with this period of the siege.

Captain Glascock says, referring to the "Wine Sortie":—

"After the wine had been taken; San Antonio plundered and set fire to, the Pedroites had to retreat in great disorder. A heavy fire of musketry was opened on them, and the boats left the beach in the utmost disorder. Some took shelter under cover of H.M. ships 'Orestes,'* 'Echo,' and 'Etna.' † A boat full of Pedroites attempted to get on board the 'Echo,' commanded by Lieutenant Robert Otway, who felt it his duty to decline affording them a refuge; however, some caçadores ascended the deck of the 'Echo,' took possession of the paddle-boxes, and began to load their pieces. Otway compelled them at once to retire to their boats."

The following is the official account of the "Wine Sortie":—

"At 7 a.m. troops embarked from Massarellos, landing near the Cobaço wine stores; they attacked the pickets up to the Candal heights, where for some time the Liberals sustained their ground, whilst the wine was taken out of the stores and the walls of the Convent of S. Antonio destroyed. But as the enemy was in a position to concentrate shortly 6000 men at this spot, the Liberals had to retire precipitately to the river side, where they hoped to have found boats ready for their embarkation: what was their surprise when they did not find one! The boats had taken the wine over to the other side, and the crews were not desirous to re-cross in face of the fire of the enemy. The soldiers were now very hard pressed, having

* A man on board the 'Orestes' was severely wounded from the Miguelite side.

† Its commander, Lieutenant T. Mitchell, was wounded in the leg.

no other ground to stand on than the narrow quays. Close by there were three English men-of-war and some merchant vessels. Many of the soldiers jumped into the river and got hold of the cables of these vessels. Some of them were taken on board the merchant vessels (particularly the 'Redport' and 'Lusitania'), whilst the fight continued; others whose fate took them in the direction of the English men-of-war were not allowed to get on board, the English being determined to maintain their neutrality; and as these poor fellows could not get on shore again, not to be taken prisoners, they fell victims and were drowned." (Rather a garbled account.*)

There was a deal of angry correspondence, arising out of this sortie, between Captain Glascock, the government of Dom Pedro, and the Miguelite Viscount Santa Martha. The Pedroites calumniated Glascock and his officers; the Miguelites wounded one of his men and one officer, also, by taking steady aim at officers and crews on board his vessels. In a note, p. 157 of "The Civil War," &c., the whole matter thus winds up—"Dom Pedro had the good taste, in reply to a spirited appeal from Lieutenant-Colonel Hare, to remark that 'he was *compelled* to give *credence* to the statement of his *own* officers,' one of whom,

* Shaw says ("Memoirs," I. p. 475)—"Many bad characters and invalids were put on board the 'Fulminense' in December for shipment to England. In going down the river the enemy's batteries opened on her, when she grounded. Many poor creatures had been wounded, others swam to our side of the river on seeing the Miguelite boats approaching to take possession. It has been stated that there were not seven days' provisions on board the vessel. Why she sailed is incomprehensible, as it was hardly possible to escape being sunk by the enemy's batteries. The merit of mercy, however, rests with the officers of the British squadron, who thus gave a splendid answer to the calumnies formerly heaped on them, by sending medical assistance on board. And to the Miguelites it is but fair to say they landed these men, treated them tolerably well, and sent them to England."

a certain colonel, who had been the *last to land* and the *first to fly*, was the inventor and chief propagator of the calumnies."

On the 18th, the enemy got the range of the Palace of S. Gill, in which were billeted several foreign officers; shot and shell were thrown into it, but no harm was done to the inmates.

The batteries on the south were pretty regular in bombarding the city day and night. They gave us occasionally some rockets, one of which set fire to the Custom House, when more than £20,000 worth of goods was destroyed. The dealers in provisions, now very scarce, began to secrete their wares. Under these circumstances the Government issued a decree purporting that if such a system were resorted to, the provisions would be sought after, and, when found, would be sold at the fair market price, and the tradesmen punished. The terrible cholera now commenced to show itself amongst the soldiery as well as amongst the inhabitants, and famine was too plainly approaching. The Government itself was in a depressed state; but it was now that Dom Pedro showed himself equal to this wretched position of things. He worked most assiduously with his ministers; he helped the inhabitants to the best of his power, particularly in the matter of hospitals for the cholera patients. The more wealthy citizens and foreign merchants, the British being in the great majority, came nobly forward and established soup-kitchens.

Of the British merchants, the name of one at least must not be forgotten, namely, that of Mr. Theophilus Isles Smith.* He was one of the first to get together food for

* This amiable and kind-hearted man died in London, in July, 1865, sincerely regretted by a large circle of friends, amongst whom the author had the pleasure of being one.

the perishing inhabitants, to arrange for a "Sopa Economica" (soup-kitchen), which was located in the Carmelite convent—his first instalment of meat being a pet calf. For a long period hundreds of rations were daily distributed.

Mr. Smith was also most assiduous and enterprising in having provisions, in particular, brought by sea to the starving city. One of his ships was the 'Avon.' She drove into the harbour with a signal of distress (a ruse), but fell into the hands of the Miguelites, who plundered and set fire to her with yells of triumph, the British flag flying at her mast-head.

Mr. Johnson (then in the employ of Mr. Smith, but now a partner of his son, Mr. George Whitely Smith, of Oporto) was wounded in the knee, in the dangerous operation of disembarking provisions at the Foz.

I must not omit to state that the more affluent Portuguese followed this noble example of the British merchants, and Colonel Sorrell, the British Consul, having previously subscribed, likewise gave a considerable sum out of the funds he had received from England for charitable purposes; the remainder of those funds he distributed amongst the poor of all the parishes.

The Rifle corps was for a time quartered at the Carmelite convent, and the author confesses that he has often, when the savoury cooking odours have reached him, been tempted to go with his pannikin and beg for a portion of the hot substantial liquid, or that he had been one of the poor recipients of the "sopa economica." But as this food was for the patient, suffering, and starving poor—men, women, and children—he had to be contented with the short and unsubstantial rations served out for so long a period to the besieged army. This was not playing at soldiers!

The rains were hard and continuous, so we had peaceful times. We had now, it was said, as many as 10,000 men under arms. The Miguelite portion of the population had been pretty well weeded out, so that the people who remained were ready to fight to a man.

B——, a light-hearted Irishman, C——, and myself got an empty billet in Rua da Picaria. Foraging in the city we fell in with an abandoned furnished house, so we helped ourselves to what we required and were soon comfortable on the score of furniture. At this period we were glad to gnaw a salt-beef bone and munch hard black biscuit for a dinner.

The mail from England brought news that the British Government was anxious to propose some arrangement between Dom Miguel and Dom Pedro. We did not see how this could be done, for the war was now that of the Kilkenny cats. Indeed some said that it would be as well if both brothers left Portugal.

22nd.—Went to a public concert at Peixe's hotel. A Signora Massei (Mrs. Massey) sang very well, but Il Signor ——— may have had a voice once, but it was now done for.

A party of us volunteered to go on picket, the object being to see there was no desertion from the 18th, a Portuguese regiment * stationed at the advanced posts of Carvalhido—a post of honour for us. My friend B—— led us, he being the most experienced soldier of the lot. We remained all night within pistol-shot of the enemy's pickets. After a miserable day and night on duty, we got to our quarters, and made a meal of a little salt fish and potatoes, and glad to get it. Being Christmas Eve, a party of us went to a wretched café and had a few glasses of punch.

* One was shot on 11th May, 1833, for desertion.

Christmas Day.—During the night the city had its dose of shell and shot. At 10 a.m. the temperature was 50° and fine. Before our windows, in a garden, the orange trees were laden with ripe fruit. Soldiering is pleasant enough in well-provisioned quarters, but the reverse under the circumstances we were in. War appears to be a necessary state of things occasionally for all countries. The prizes are few for officers and men; the real fighting soldier offers his life for distinction, promotion, a ribbon —his more general lot is a glorious (!) grave.

I dined on this festive day at the Seminario barracks, with some English officers, and, among other dishes, we had roast meat—was it beef?—and as good a plum-pudding as could be made with the ingredients at command.

Our Israelite quartermaster was put under arrest, when I was requested to take my former post, which I did. B—— returned from picket duty, informing us that a Miguelite had given him a shot. B—— watched his opportunity and picked his man off. We, however, came to the conclusion that picket-firing was a most unsoldierly proceeding. As a treat of another sort, the enemy's round shot from the other side of the river came flying occasionally up our street.

The Pedroites went on steadily digging trenches, erecting batteries, and making the best of their position.

I had several chats with a brother of Señor Mendizabal (he had but one arm). He had come to see how affairs looked. He had an *idea* that Dom Pedro ought to leave Oporto, get to Lisbon by sea, and take it. Our general impression here was that we could not have got away without very great loss; that Dom Miguel's navy was guarding the Tagus; ours, at Vigo, not in a good state; that the

best thing we could do was to remain in Oporto, do our best to defend it, and tire Dom Miguel out.

On the 28th December, Shaw was in bed recovering from the severe wounds received on the 17th November; but, hearing that the English were engaged at the Foz, went there as a volunteer and was placed in command of the advanced position. On the 1st January, 1833, he was appointed to the command of the Scotch Fusiliers.

The year 1832 closed with much sickness in Dom Pedro's army,—fevers, some of a bad sort, and pulmonary complaints, being very common, consequent on exposure and bad living; and the cholera increasing!

I could not resist the opportunity of examining the various points connected with Wellington's passage of the Douro, 12th May, 1809.* There stood the rock with the Serra convent, behind which the army, British and Portuguese, were secretly concentrated—the French under (as the Portuguese called him "the butcher" †) Soult occupying the city. There was the river deep and swift between the contending foes. The Seminario on the other side caught Sir Arthur's eye, and its easy access from the river. He instantly resolved to force a passage, in face of a brave and veteran army, his means being as scanty as his resolution was great. Colonel Waters the night before was taken across by a barber accompanied by the Prior of Amarante, when he returned with three empty barges.

The passage commenced at 10 a.m., and was soon won, when the enemy was shortly in full retreat. The English lost twenty killed and about a hundred wounded; the French five hundred in killed and wounded.

* See Napier for details.

† I saw in Oporto a large engraving, depicting "Soult's carnage Oporto," when 10,000 Portuguese were slain and drowned.

I will just refer to Wellington's doings in Portugal. He beat the French at Roliça, his first battle, the 11th and 12th August, 1808, and at Vimiero, the 21st, which led to the convention of Cintra and evacuation of the French under Junot. In 1809 was his famous passage of the Douro. In 1810 Napoleon sent Massena with a large army to Portugal, when Wellington beat him at Bussaco, 27th September, 1810. He retired on Santarem, remaining there till the 5th March, 1811. In his retreat Massena was vanquished at Fuentes de Honor, 3rd May. The greatest force of the Portuguese army, it is said, was in 1811, and amounted to 107,431 men.

Then followed the brilliant battles in Spain, finishing with that of Toulouse, 14th April, 1814. John VI. returned from Brazil, 1821. Civil war soon commenced, —Liberals *v.* despots. This was followed by the usurpation of Dom Miguel, the commencement of the War of Succession, the arrival of Dom Pedro in Oporto, 1832, to defend the rights of his daughter, Donna Maria II., and give constitutional liberty to his country; the siege of Oporto, 1832-3.

A few words about Portuguese history.

The Portuguese may well be proud of their Lusitanian forefathers, although the country was successively overrun by Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Moors. The Conde Henrique, the father of the Kings of Portugal, commenced driving the Moors out of the land in the 11th century. He fought them in seventeen battles; the more celebrated were those of Coimbra and Lamego.

The *Burgundian Dynasty* commenced with his son, born in 1109. He gained the celebrated battle of Ourique in 1139 against five Moorish kings. The Portuguese still had difficulties both with Moors and Spaniards.

The *Dynasty of Aviz* commenced under John I., born in

1357. The 14th August, 1385, was the famous action of Aljubarrota, in which, according to native historians, "6500 Portuguese destroyed more than 30,000 Castilians." In this reign the learned Prince Henry and others laid the foundation of the discoveries of the Azores and in Africa, which led to the "doubling" of the Cape of Good Hope by Diaz. Under Manuel I., born 1449, Vasco de Gama discovered the coasts of India. Brazil was discovered by Cabral in 1500. The Jesuits found their way to Portugal in 1541; the establishment of the "unholy" Inquisition soon followed. In 1578 was the battle of Alcacerquiver in Africa against the Moors, and death of D. Sebastian, with the flower of the Portuguese nobility. It is said that some few in Portugal believe that D. Sebastian is still alive, and that he will return to occupy the throne! The great poet Camoens died 10th June, 1560, "poor and abandoned by all."

The *Spanish Dynasty.*—Sixty years of oppression.

The *Braganza Dynasty.*—Commenced with John IV. There were many successful battles against the Spaniards, terminating with the peace of Utrecht, 1713.

The celebrated writer Antonio José was burnt by the Inquisition, 1745. Pope Benedict XIV. conferred the title of "most faithful" on the kings of Portugal.

Under Joseph I., born 1714, Sebastian José de Carvalho, Marquis of Pombal, commenced his great and brave reforms. Conspiracy of nobles, and attempt to assassinate the King, when he was wounded. Several nobles executed 13th January, 1759; on the 19th, Pombal had the daring to arrest the Jesuits and expel them from the country.

Revolt in Oporto, caused principally by the ultra-Church party, 12th October, 1757. 283 persons of both sexes condemned to death, to the galleys, and other punishments, and much confiscation of property. When Pombal,

through intrigues of the Jesuits and their friends, was forced to retire from the ministry, he left in the mint treasury 48 millions of cruzados, and 38 millions in the treasury of taxes = 86 millions.* Maria I. proclaimed, 1777. Pombal was tried for his "terrible crimes."† His enemies hoped to bring him to the scaffold. However, the "clemency" of the Queen interposed—(he was still to be feared)—so he was banished from the capital. This bold and vigorous reformer died in 1782.

Some modern Portuguese writers, although they call him the "great Pombal," say that he should have paved the way for a representative form of Government, instead of which he gave all the power to the Crown. But do these writers take into consideration the political elements he had to work with, and early in the 18th century? Portugal had gone through the rough feudal times, then the Church for a long period had unlimited sway. Then came the ambition of the nobles, who made war on the King. It was now that Pombal considered it best to make the Crown powerful, when in time there would be a better form of rule. However, it was reserved for Dom Pedro IV., afterwards Regent for his daughter Donna Maria II., to give the Portuguese a constitutional form of government.

* 11½ of these cruzados = £1, which gives nearly eight millions o pounds sterling.

† The church of Memoria at Belem was founded by José I. the 3rd September, 1760, to commemorate an unsuccessful attempt upon his life while passing the spot, on the night of the 3rd of September, 1758. In order to punish the perpetrators of this plot, which was, without doubt, contrived by Pombal—(where is the n for this mere assertion? doubtless a Jesuit calumny. W. B.)—several of the nobility, among whom were the Duke of Aveiro and the Marquis and Marchioness de Tavora, were put to death on the 13th of January, 1759, and their dead bodies being consumed by fire, the ashes were thrown into the Tagus.—Bradshaw's "Spain and Portugal," by Dr. Charnock, 1865.

CHAPTER X.

JANUARY, 1833.

Marshal Solignac arrives—*Resumé* of Miguelite and Spanish doings to date—Disembarkation of provisions—Newspaper reports—Miguelite shot could be thrown from the south across Oporto into their own lines on the north—Miguelite desertion—Treasure-trove—Spanish Liberals in power—Solignac reviews the army—Serra Convent—Recruits from France, England, and Belgium—Miguelites believe the city must surrender; "Never say die"—Sartorius and fleet off Oporto, bad state of the navy, no money to pay sailors—Two days' fearful bombardment; poor mothers curse Dom Miguel and Dom Pedro—Solignac's sortie of Pasteleiro, not properly supported; intrigues against him—Arrival of Saldanha; memoir of to date—Fourteen known political parties in Oporto!—Villa-Flor resigns command, created Duke of Terceira—State of the army—Dom Pedro bears up manfully under a load of difficulties—Cadet Rifle Corps attached to Scotch at Lordello—Soldier's funeral—Bombarding the city generally from 4 a.m. till 9 a.m., and 3 p.m. to 8 p.m.—Rifles quartered in Carmelite Convent.

The population of Oporto before the siege was estimated at 120,000 souls; now it was about 70,000. The year 1833 commenced with the arrival of General Solignac, one of Napoleon's old Peninsular soldiers; on the 3rd January he was made a marshal and a major-general. With him came several French officers, and French troops were to follow. He was a stout, hearty-looking man, but rather too old for the sort of campaigning he had come to. It was current that Dom Pedro had written to Louis Philippe to send him a French general. Excelmans was applied to by Soult, then Minister of War, but declined. Soult, who wished to get rid of Solignac,

who threatened to publish certain unpleasant correspondence about the Duchess de Berri, got him to accept the appointment to Portugal.

The General had already some personal experience of what Britishers could do. At the battle of Vimiero, Solignac went to the northward, to turn part of the position which appeared to be unprotected. . . . . Brennier endeavoured to effect a junction with Solignac, who was at that moment occupied in turning the left flank of the English. . . . Solignac had achieved his circuitous march and had come upon the left flank, which, to his astonishment, he found to consist of three strong brigades, instead of the line of skirmishers he expected. At the same time the artillery, opening upon his columns as they advanced along the ridge, swept everything before it. He retreated in good order, leaving six of his guns, and was himself severely wounded. . . . Brennier was taken prisoner . . . Then followed the convention of Cintra.

On the 5th January the enemy brought a field-piece to bear upon the 'Coquette,' Pedroite gun-boat, and sunk her. Captain Hill, her commander, at that time was occupied in building a platform for guns below the Seminario.

Lieutenant-Colonel Badcock came to Oporto to replace Colonel Hare, as British Military Commissioner. This officer wrote an interesting volume, "Rough Leaves from a Journal kept in Spain and Portugal, 1833-4," from which I offer a *resumé* of what concerns political affairs from June, 1832, to his arrival in Oporto:—

About June, 1832, Lord W. Russell and Colonels Hare and Badcock were appointed by the British Government to go to Lisbon to ascertain what Dom Miguel was doing, and Colonel Badcock to see what the Spaniards were about on the frontier. Dom Miguel at this period was

very fond of cruising about in a schooner painted red with much gilding and ornament. There was an unusual stillness in the city, and the police in numbers patrolled the principal streets. On the 11th June Colonel Badcock started for the frontier. "Viva Dom Miguel" was the cry, and the Miguelites said, "What can Dom Pedro do with 8000 against 120,000?" No Spaniards were on the frontier, so Badcock returned to Lisbon. He found Dom Miguel sailing about in his schooner, receiving salutes from his own and the American squadron, whilst the British fleet was mute.

Reports spread that Dom Pedro's expedition had been spoken with at sea, which caused double vigilance on the part of Dom Miguel's Government.

On the 4th July, Badcock went again to the frontier, and into Spain by Badajos. On the 16th being at Placencia, it was reported that Dom Pedro had landed at Oporto on the 8th, which could not be believed. On the 19th he was at Salamanca, where he met with the Spanish General Sarsfield in command there; with him were Generals Pastor and Canterac and Colonel Leopold O'Donnell. Receiving instructions from the English Minister at Madrid, Mr. Addington, to go there, at Ciudad Rodrigo he found General Romagosa* as governor. The Spaniards, particularly the *Realistas* and priests, were very suspicious of Badcock's movements. There were now appearances of Spanish troops marching to the assistance of Dom Miguel. On the 18th September Badcock was at Salamanca; news arrived of the King of Spain's illness, and rumours of his death, though no Spaniard dared to speak to another on the subject. The King rallied. About the middle of October it was obvious that Spain would not, and dared not, meddle

* Shot as a Carlist some time afterwards in Catalonia.

in favour of Dom Miguel. Being at Salamanca he had an interview with General Sarsfield, who received him walking up and down a ploughed field. He had been very ill and looked pale, and, being clothed in a loose white dress, appeared like a ghost. He said he received his visitor there, as he could converse while taking his exercise. Badcock believed that the Portuguese would beat the Spaniards any day. By the end of October he got to Madrid, where he found Mr. Addington. The state of Ferdinand VII. was uncertain, and the line of policy about to be adopted very doubtful. He saw Don Carlos and his wife, and other members of the royal family. Ferdinand appeared more dead than alive, and when his children were brought to him, he could not be roused to recognise them. An alarm took place one night; it was supposed that the royal guard was going to revolt and declare for Don Carlos. Their commander was superseded in November. The illness of the King, the threatening aspect of affairs, and the dread of some convulsion put an end to society. By the 28th, Zea Bermudez arrived and entered on his functions as prime minister. On the 11th December Badcock had orders to return to Lisbon. Being at Pegoes in Portugal he fell in with Miguelite cavalry; he asked them why they had not driven Dom Pedro out of the country? They said they were waiting to see which side England would take. Arriving at Lisbon, Lord W. Russell ordered him to go to Oporto, where he arrived the 7th January.

On the 8th a general disembarkation of provisions and horses was arranged to take place at the Foz. The previous night launches and boats went out under fire of the Cabedello battery, built on the sandy point on the south side. Colonel Bacon and his lancers were posted on the heights of Pasteleiro and Lordello to observe the movements of

the enemy, and secure safe transit from the Foz to the city, whilst the detachments at the Foz and the Luz, or light-house battery, were reinforced by volunteers and a portion of the French, who protected the landing at 7 a.m. In two hours, 130 horses, 200 oxen, 4000 quintals of salt fish, sheep, poultry, &c., were landed.

Telles Jordão, the Miguelite General, did his best to oppose this operation by attacking the Foz, but he was repelled, leaving many dead and 180 wounded of his command on the field. The Liberals lost 1 major and 4 volunteers killed, and a few wounded.

Colonel Badcock thus describes Dom Pedro at this time: He was of middle stature, upright and active—his complexion not good, and he did not bear the stamp of health. The great fatigue he had endured and the harassing life he had led did not conduce to good looks. His manners were good and conciliating. He was very abstemious, drinking nothing but water, and taking a glass of wine only as a compliment to strangers.

Intelligence from the seat of war, as a matter of course, was of an opposite and varied character. The Miguelites generally reported victories to France and England, when they had been beaten, which the Legitimists and the Tory party commented upon favourably in their respective newspapers. This kept up the spirits of the partizans of Dom Miguel, as well as quotations of his loan contracted in Paris. On the other side, the Pedroites did not make the worst of their sorties and various difficulties, and it must be allowed that their defences were satisfactory. They also had their friends, particularly in France and England, who were kept well-informed as to the real state of affairs, good, bad, or indifferent, and who could give the necessary amount of publicity.

Some of the foreign officers who had been disappointed in not being able to "play at soldiers," wrote unjust letters to their respective countries.

There may have been "own correspondents" for newspapers. The only one I saw, occasionally, was Mr. Mackinrod, but I do not recollect for which paper he wrote—I think for the *Herald*.

On the 9th Colonels Badcock and Hare went round the lines. Here is their view:—Certain points were exceedingly strong, but many quite the reverse. The city was more like a fortified camp. The Miguelites occupied some points so exceedingly close that many parts were continually exposed to the fire of musketry; indeed, from several heights they could overlook the whole of the city. When the Miguelites had fully established their batteries, there was no part of the city or lines of Dom Pedro across which the Miguelites could not throw shot to their own lines, so completely were the Pedroites under fire.

Several officers, who had deserted from Dom Miguel, came from Lisbon, begging to be received into the Pedroite service, which was accorded.

The Government got information that treasure was secreted in a Miguelite house. Search was made, when it was found, and reported to be as much as 750 lbs. weight in silver.

On the 10th, Sir J. M. Doyle gave the Rifles a breakfast, at which they appeared in their new uniform of green, with black cuffs and collars, gold lace on right cuff, to mark their being cadets; shako with hair plume, and sword. We were exempt from fatigue duty—in fact gentleman soldiers, and on 5d. a day!

Sir John told me privately that "he had something good in his eye for me." I will give him all credit for the desire to serve me.

Our spies informed us that Dom Miguel was then at Braga, and had just received unsatisfactory news from Spain, namely, that the Liberals then composed the ministry, which was good news for us.

17*th*.—Badcock dined with Solignac, "who made some fine speeches on liberty, which did not seem to be perfectly understood or agreed to by the company."

General Solignac having examined our batteries and lines, on the 19th reviewed the troops, and must have taken many of us for a precious rough lot. *

Solignac commenced at the Seminario, carefully scrutinising the 2nd, 3rd, 5th, 10th, and 12th Caçadores; the Portuguese regiments of the line, 9th, 10th, and 18th; Volunteers of the Queen; several other battalions of Volunteers; the Fixos (troops who do not march out); and the Mobiles (troops movable to any part of the kingdom); then some foreign corps; and one German regiment (nominally Belgians). The field artillery consisted of 12 pieces; there were two brigades of nine-pounders; Bacon's Lancers, 160, and 80 of the 11th. This force was very small, but sufficient to be shut up in a closely-watched place.

The British were composed of the Irish regiment, the Scotch at Lordello, under Shaw, an officer of much experience, and the Cadet Rifles.

On the left were the French and a corps of Italian Riflemen. All seen under arms did not amount to 5000 men; 1500 were at the Foz and Lordello, and 400 in the

* Captain Glascock, ("Naval Sketchbook,") gives the following description of the Pedroite army:—"There were cross-belted beggars there belonging to every nation o' the face of the fighting globe—raw Scotch, wild Irish, Lunnun light uns, heavy Garmans, long Poles, short Swiss, Lazy-Roney (Italians), French hop-kickers, Belgian braves, &c., &c."

garrison of the Serra. They were surrounded by more than ten times their number of Miguelites.

12*th*.—Badcock crossed the river to visit the Serra, and its defences. "The situation was very strong, but the defences really weak; and how the gallant Governor Torres managed to maintain the place during such a protracted siege, and under continual fire, was really wonderful, and will do him and his brave garrison lasting credit. He will receive his meed of praise from all military men who visit it. He accompanied me round the place; indeed, he always did so whenever I went, which was but seldom. It soon became too hot for a visit of pleasure."

16*th*.—An explosion took place in the Serra, which killed two officers and five men.

19*th*.—Very heavy bombardment on the city. Did the enemy think to frighten us into a surrender?

On the 20th, I went with some comrades to see the landing of a battalion of French. Sartorius had come from Vigo, and was off the bar with his fleet; he directed a few shots at the Queijo battery. An English frigate at the same time saluted Donna Maria's flag, which must have been unpleasant to the Miguelites.

We accompanied the French troops, who were well officered, to Oporto. They gaily tripped along the road, singing "En avant marchons," &c. They had a hearty reception on entering the city.

They had a Cantinière, mounted on horseback, with barrels and baggage. There were some few women with the English and Irish, but they had none of the character about them of La Belle Cantinière.

Recruits from England, Belgium, and the Western Islands arrived.

The Miguelites now persuaded themselves that, bom-

barded by their numerous batteries, and our suffering from famine and cholera, the city must soon surrender; and that it was not necessary for them to make another general attack. Seeing that the Liberals only had that narrow strip of land from the Foz to the city by which to convey what they succeeded in landing at the Foz, they put their batteries of Pinhal, Monte Castro, and Serralves in a good state to annoy the Foz and the road to the city. We now extended our lines of Carvalhido, Ramalde, Lordello, Pasteleiro, thence to the Luz.

The city* was closely invested, but the Miguelites had not yet made redoubts, nor got up all their battering train. The river is not generally more than 360 yards wide, but varies to 600, and is everywhere within musket range. The Miguelites had fourteen miles of lines to defend; the besieged moved in a much smaller circle. "Then Dom Pedro had a considerable body of foreigners, whom the Portuguese had long been taught either to dread or admire, as excelling them in arms."

Admiral Sartorius was now in Oporto. He had come to inform Dom Pedro as to the state of naval affairs, which was not satisfactory, mainly on the score of pay. He doubtless received instructions to co-operate at sea in Solignac's projected sortie on Monte Castro and the Queijo forts.

The naval force off the bar was as follows:—'Dom Pedro,' 'Rainha,' 'Donna Maria,' 'Constitucão,' 'Mindello,' 'Villa-Flor,' 'Portuense,' comprising 240 guns and 1200 men. Not in commission, and in the Douro (many of their guns in use in the batteries):—the 'Regencia,' 'Veinte tres de Julio,' 'Liberal,' and 'Graziosa.' The 'Fayal' was run away with by its crew to England. The 'Terceira' had been

* Badcock, p. 139.

sunk off the Serra convent, the 'Coquette' also off the Seminario, and the 'Archer' was a hulk in the river.

On the 23rd, at 5 a.m., the enemy opened fire from all the batteries they could command upon the city. It lasted five hours, and a fearful affair it was. Great damage was done; some of the inhabitants were killed, and many wounded. At 6 a.m. a shell came rattling down the side wall of my billet, which was in a narrow cross street, bursting in a garden a few yards from the room I was in. The explosion broke all the windows at the back of the house. A piece of the shell went through the window of the adjoining house, falling on a bed wherein two children were sleeping, but did them no harm. I heard the poor starving mother curse in the bitterest terms both Dom Miguel and Dom Pedro.

The following day there was a repetition of the bombarding, continuing until 9 p.m. These were bad times indeed.

For some days we had been expecting Solignac to give us a specimen of his tactics.

On the 24th, early in the morning, nearly all Dom Pedro's disposable force was under arms and marched to various posts. This was Solignac's sortie on Monte Castro. There was scrimmaging on the right, but it was on our left, at the Foz, where the fight took place, during a bold sortie upon Monte Castro, which locality and its immediate vicinity must have been occupied by at least 10,000 men, prepared to oppose us, less than 2000 men. My journal merely mentions—for our corps was much on the march that day—that there was heavy fighting in advance of the Foz, that we gained some ground, and, although we punished the enemy, our loss was great, particularly of officers. An old London friend of mine, Captain Clarke, was mortally wounded.

The author of "The Civil War in Portugal" was a looker-on. From his work I epitomize the following:—

Solignac moved out with the design of attacking Monte Castro, containing six guns, which commanded every movement for the disembarkation of provisions and reinforcements. He intended to follow up the attack by an assault on the Castello do Queijo, a fort close to the coast. Sartorius with his ships was to support this latter part of the operations by a cross fire; and, while Solignac was attacking these positions in front, a strong column by the Lordello road was to take the enemy in flank and rear.

Everything was ready on land, but the ships were far to the south. The sailors, from discontent, had refused to obey their officers. This caused some delay. The Marshal then moved on, and the height was taken. Day was fast closing, and no flanking column appeared. Towards dusk he sent a small force to reconnoitre the Queijo in the hope that it might have been abandoned in consequence of the cannonade of Sartorius. This detachment was repulsed. At 8 p.m. the Marshal abandoned Monte Castro and returned to the city. The Pedroites lost in killed and wounded 252; 25 were officers.

Solignac was informed that the flanking column had been halted by the Emperor, in consequence of his having received information that the enemy were moving in force, threatening the city. The Marshal said he would not take upon himself the whole responsibility with only half a command. It was reported to Dom Pedro that he had observed, "I never knew but one emperor a soldier, and that was Napoleon." This remark soon paved the way to his losing Dom Pedro's friendship. There was a suspicion that there had been a premeditated intention in the false report made to the Emperor, and which had

induced him to halt the column. Solignac henceforth gave up all idea of advancing into the country without a great increase of force.

Extract from Solignac's order of the day, 25th January, 1833 :—

"By extraordinary circumstances, none of which depended on him, he was obliged to remain in position with the small force he had on the heights of Pasteleiro for a longer time than he intended, or was convenient, which allowed the enemy to unite so superior a force, that, notwithstanding the devoted bravery and firmness of the army he had the honour of commanding, he found himself under the necessity of either abandoning the position and retiring, or suffering a great reverse."

Shaw calls this the battle of Pasteleiro : in it he had charge of the left flank.

Napier observes: "After the affair on the heights of Pasteleiro, Portuguese intrigue was too much for Solignac."

In the seventh chapter of this volume it is stated that the Pedroite fleet, after the severe action of the 11th of October, remained in Vigo Bay to repair damages. I again refer to Mr. Williams' notes :—

"Cholera broke out fearfully on board the flag-ship the 'Rainha.' It also became virulent on board His Majesty's ship 'St. Vincent,' 120. Our squadron moved for a change to the Baiona Islands, where the crew of the 'Rainha' was landed on the more southern, whilst the ship underwent fumigation ; however, when the crew returned on board, the disease continued to spread. Thirty officers and men fell victims ; whilst not a case occurred on board the 'Donna Maria.' Many graves of brave men might now be traced resting on the summit of that wild, yet pretty little uninhabited isle.

"The 'Wellington,' an old East Indiaman, had been

purchased and turned into a 50-gun frigate, named the 'Dom Pedro,' and made to look like a seventy-four, and was commanded by Captain Goble, late R.N.

"The crews of the 'Donna Maria' and the 'Rainha' showed symptoms of insubordination; the agreement with them was that they should be paid quarterly. In November (1832), eight or nine months' pay was due. 'Pay us,' said Jack, 'and let us dispose of our money as we please, and then we shall be willing to fight.' Admiral Sartorius continued to urge on Dom Pedro the claims of his men, but with no good result. The men would wait no longer, and begged the Admiral would land them at Vigo. All hands were piped to muster on deck. The Admiral said, 'All men who desire to remain till their rights are obtained, stand on the starboard side, the others to the port side.' About 90 men elected to stay; the rest, about 160, were landed at Vigo; a few returned to their ships. Many officers resigned. Captain Mends Bingham went to Oporto and resigned. The crew of the 'Dom Pedro' became disaffected and threatened to put to sea.

"On the 2nd January, 1833, Captain R. Massey, late R.N., took command of the 'Donna Maria.' Shortly after a vessel arrived, and reported that they had heard a cannonading off Oporto, and thought they could descry a fleet, supposed to be Miguelites capturing merchantmen. Our crews gave three ringing cheers. Signal was made for the squadron to weigh; the anchors came to the bows in much less time than on previous occasions, and all sail was set for Oporto. Signals were made to prepare for action.

"Arriving off Oporto, we found the reported firing had proceeded from a cruiser bringing to a fishing-boat for a supply of fish.

"There was every expectation that the enemy contemplated a grand attack on the Foz Castle at the mouth of the Douro, when, in the event of success, they might be able to blockade the port and starve the Pedroite army into surrender.

"To assist in defending the Foz a party of 100 marines and 100 blue-jackets were landed; but a fortnight having elapsed without sign of disturbance, we returned to our respective ships.

"A sortie being determined on for the 24th by Solignac to attack the Monte Castro and Queijo batteries; the squadron was to engage the Queijo battery with the view of drawing off its fire from the troops on shore. The 'Donna Maria' went in as close as practicable to reconnoitre, when whiz, whiz, came shot from the battery flying over us.

"On the 24th January the three frigates and the 'Villa Flor' stood in and anchored in line; the 'Dom Pedro' northernmost, the 'Rainha' in the centre, the 'Donna Maria' to southward; the 'Villa Flor' drawing less water, close in. Firing commenced from the ships about dusk, and was returned from the Queijo battery, which soon found our range and made good practice. The 'Dom Pedro' lost her mizen-top-mast; the 'Rainha' was hulled several times, and lost some men in killed and wounded.

"The ships continued to fire as long as the sortie lasted on shore, after which the squadron weighed and stood off to the anchorage in the roadstead."

On the 27th, General Saldanha, Sir T. Stubbs, J. M. de Moura, and J. C. de Mello were off the bar in a brig under American colours. It was said that Saldanha had come rather on his own account, and it was hinted that

there were doubts as to a cordial reception by Dom Pedro.* There was a general opinion in Oporto that Saldanha should have been by Dom Pedro's side long since, and why he had not been was, that his motto was, "Donna Maria and the Charter."

Subsequently it appeared that, previous to Solignac's failure before Pasteleiro, a large portion of the army had wished for Saldanha's presence; and whatever Dom Pedro thought on this point, it would seem that he was sent for in rather an indirect manner—that *all* Portuguese patriots would be received in Oporto.

In the Introdution I state that Saldanha remained behind at the express desire of Dom Pedro, who told him if he went with the expedition from Belle Isle to the Islands, Ferdinand VII. of Spain would at once assist Dom Miguel with 50,000 men. "Um Portuense," writing in 1840, on the point of Saldanha's being left behind in Paris, when he wished so much to go with Dom Pedro, says:—"Deixou ficar em esquecimento aquelle digno, sabio, e valiente General"—that worthy, wise, and valiant General was left behind totally forgotten; also that Solignac knew Saldanha's worth, and doubted not that he would be able to convince Dom Pedro of the error under which he laboured in not appreciating his military talents, and what he could effect in the cause of liberty, also that he would confront the intrigues that had been organised against himself. Solignac, it was said, succeeded in so far that Dom Pedro sent an order to Paris for Saldanha to come

* Shaw, i. 305, speaking of Dom Pedro when at Nantes, before the sailing of the expedition, says:—"He appeared over-thoughtful, and well he might, as even among his own followers disgust was shown at the decree issued, not only preventing Saldanha and Palmella from going with the expedition, but ordering them to be shot if found in any part of the Portuguese dominions."

at once to Oporto, where he arrived towards the end of January, uniting himself with its defenders when their position was most unsatisfactory. He was received by the army and the inhabitants with every demonstration of affection.

The author will now refer to "Extraits de l'Histoire des Hommes d'Etat et des Hommes de Guerre," in course of publication at Geneva, in which there is much material connected with the Duke of Saldanha's distinguished and interesting career.

Great is the list of Saldanha's titles, dignities, decorations, scientific and literary rewards.

João Carlos Saldanha Oliveira e Daun was born in Lisbon, 17th November, 1790. The first Conde de Saldanha married Doña Ximena, the sister of Alfonso, King of Castile. The son of this Conde, the famous Bernardo del Carpio, fought for Spain against the legions of the new Emperor of the East, Karl the Great. Saldanha, on his father's side, is related to the Princess Rohan-Chabot; on his mother's (his father's second marriage) he is grandson to the great Pombal, and Count Daun, brother to Marshal Daun.

The Duke of Saldanha by his first wife, an English lady, had three children;* his second wife is also an English lady.

He entered the army in 1805; two years after he was a captain. When Junot entered Lisbon, in 1808, he served under Sir A. Wellesley. In 1810 he so distinguished himself at the head of his battalion at his first battle, that of Busaco, that the Regent of England sent him a medal. In 1812 he commanded a division before Bayonne, and was at the battle of Toulouse. During 1815 Europe was at peace. Portugal, or rather Brazil, was, however,

* One became the Conde de Almoster; he died a few years since; another is Marquis of Saldanha, the other Countess of Farrobo.

at war with the Banda Oriental, when he went to the New World; that war continued five years, and in it he added to his reputation. In 1816 he was Captain-General of Rio Grande do Sul. In 1820, true to his Liberal views, he proclaimed and adhered to the sentiments of the Spanish Constitution. He became chief of the Provisional Government of Brazil. In 1822 he was Governor of Brazil; but, not being properly supported by the home Government, he returned to Portugal, much to the dislike of the authorities at Lisbon. He was brought to court-martial, but it was found necessary to employ him to quell a rising of the garrison instigated by the Queen, which he did, and the country was quieted.

He strenuously opposed the Miguelite party, and was instrumental in causing the King to sign a constitutional proclamation. The Liberal Palmella was premier, but the Absoluto party were too strong for him. The King died in 1826. Saldanha was then Governor of Oporto, and very popular with the people, and, being assured of the troops, he at once proclaimed the constitutional charter of Dom Pedro. In 1826 he commanded the army of the north, which was agitated by the Miguelite party; he managed to quell this, changing the political opinions of many of the soldiery from Absolutism to Liberalism. In 1828 Dom Miguel, who had been banished, got back to Portugal, through Metternich, Legitimist France and Tory England consenting; all united in asking Dom Pedro to confer the Regency on his brother. Saldanha, who was then Minister of War, most strenuously urged Dom Pedro not to do it, but his messenger arrived two days after the arrangement had been signed. Saldanha resigned and went to England. Dom Miguel returned as Regent, and was soon saluted by the Absolutos as King. Saldanha and

other Liberals went to Oporto, but as their party had been beaten at the Cruz de Mourocus by the Miguelites, they returned to England. In January 1829 Saldanha sailed with troops in three vessels to Terceira, but was not allowed to land by the English Commodore Walpole, then under Tory orders. He consequently made for Brest. In 1830 Saldanha assisted Lafayette during the Three Days in Paris. He became a paid contributor to the *National*, then under Armand Carrel. In 1831 Dom Pedro came to Europe, and accepted Saldanha's services to command his army; but diplomatic intrigues, particularly on the part of Ferdinand VII. of Spain, caused Dom Pedro to request Saldanha to remain behind, much to his sorrow and disappointment. In 1833 Dom Pedro was in the throes of his celebrated defence of Oporto; affairs looked gloomy, when the troops and people called for Saldanha, and their call was not in vain.

Up to 1833 we have seen Saldanha as a soldier. As early as 1816, as an administrator, we find him captain-general of Brazil; in 1820, president of the government; in 1822, governor of Brazil, a position equal to that of viceroy. Not being supported by the Portuguese Government, he retired from his post; however he reformed very many of the colonial abuses. He became governor of Oporto, and on the death of the King, although surrounded by every difficulty, he proclaimed the Constitution.

As a writer, Saldanha employed his pen on Liberal articles, particularly in the *National*. His linguistic knowledge was great; besides his own, the Portuguese, being a scholar in the Spanish, French, German, English, and Italian languages.

With regard to this critical period, the author of "The Civil War in Portugal" observes:—

Saldanha having arrived, and being a great favourite

with the army and with the inhabitants of Oporto, parties began to intrigue more than ever. There were :—1. *Constitutionalists*—Nothing but Queen and Charter; no Pedro. 2. *Constitutionalists*—Queen and Charter; Dom Pedro Regent. 3. *Constitutionalists*—Queen and one Chamber; no Pedro, no peers. 4. *Pedroites*—Pedro absolute; neither Queen nor Constitution. 5. *Miguelites*—Let the Queen marry her uncle (or the d——l take her). 6. *Ultra-Liberals*—Cups of coffee for all the royal family (probably meaning poison). 7. *Ministerialists*—Out with Solignac; he won't force the lines. 8. *Solignacs*—Out with the ministry; they are asses. 9. *Saldanhists*—Queen and Constitution; neither Pedro nor Solignac. 10. *Terceiras*—Up to-day, down to-morrow; anything for success.* 11. *Amalgamists*—General amnesty with English influence. 12. *Amalgamists* with French influence. 13. *Terrorists*—We are

* According to C. Napier, Villa-Flor, in consequence of selfish intrigues of Dom Pedro's surroundings, sent in his resignation, offering to serve his country under any other commander than the Emperor's A.D.C., Candido Xavier. Dom Pedro was alarmed and would not accept it. Villa-Flor removed Colonel Baptista (de Silva Lopez), the chief of the staff, and Captain Pimentel, the Quartermaster-General. Baptista was appointed to command the artillery, and Pimentel became A.D.C. to Dom Pedro. The Emperor now took command. Xavier became military secretary, afterwards Minister of the Interior; Pimentel, Quartermaster-General. Villa-Flor was created Duke of Terceira, and first A.D.C. to the Emperor. Such were the empty rewards bestowed on Villa-Flor, who had performed such eminent services to his country. There was not in Portugal a better, a milder man, and it was to be regretted that in those dangerous times he had not assumed a higher tone. Had he held up his finger, he might have driven the Emperor's imbecile advisers, not only from his presence, but from Oporto; and had he done so, his conduct would have been applauded by all right-thinking men. Mouzinho de Albuquerque resigned the Marine department to Bernado de Sá. Loulé the Emperor's brother-in-law, succeeded Palmella. Silva Carvalho had finance and justice; the portfolio of finance was widely opened, while that of justice was securely locked up in the Minister's bureau. Carvalho, however, was not to blame.

all lost; they (the Miguelites) certainly will get in. 14. *Capitulatists*—Make terms, with or without Queen, Pedro or Miguel; give us peace, with good-will to all men who are not revolution-spinners.

But when the signal-bell tolled one, all parties were on the alert; two, they armed; three, "turn out;" and rushed along the streets to the lines for the general defence, fighting like heroes, shouting "Viva Donna Maria II.," "Viva a Constituçao," "Morra Dom Miguel!" Dom Pedro must have had a most perplexing time of it.

Shaw says he believed there was treachery in Dom Pedro's suite during the whole of the war, and that there was *one man* who ought to have been hung.

There were now three battalions of English and Irish, one of Scotch, the small English Rifle corps, and two French regiments. The cavalry, principally lancers, were under the command of Colonel Bacon.

As to the drill among the British, I do not think there was much attempted, but in one way or another some old soldiers talked drill and duty to the young ones, who, when fighting was to be done, were always ready and willing, even under the greatest privations. As to their barracks, they were generally in a fair state, considering the want of means for rendering them in any way comparatively habitable.

The French soldiers were more orderly than the English; it was more natural in them to be the showy militaire, and they did their duty well. Colonel Bacon got his lancers into good order, and a very efficient body they were.

The Scotch battalion, under Colonel Shaw, was a most united, compact, and daring corps, and for a lengthened time had very exposed quarters, namely at Lordello; they did a deal of capital soldiering.

As to the regular Portuguese army, composed of caçadores, regiments of the line, artillery, and engineers, their drill was good and their barracks orderly. As to the Oporto Volunteers—some 3000 of them—why, they looked after themselves, and were most useful.

When the Miguelite partizans had been cleared out, it may be said that every man, woman, and child of the population fought in the defence of Oporto.

The whole number of bayonets of the Pedroites, including the volunteers, were now under 10,000 men; and it was currently reported that there were some 60,000 of the enemy around Oporto.

It was well-known that Dom Pedro was surrounded by all sorts of difficulties—the want of union amongst his followers; the diminution of the army by war and sickness; and the fact that while provisions and other resources were off the bar, to get them was a slow process, accompanied with no little risk. There was a cargo of powder outside, but the master of the vessel would not give it up without the cash, and the treasury was almost empty. Under these and other conflicting elements, Dom Pedro, ably seconded by his War Minister, Freire, and the Minister of the Treasury, Carvalho, did wonders, especially in filling up places wanting in the different regiments, as well as augmenting the number of volunteers, ofttimes on the no-compulsion but you-must system. Cash found its way into the treasury sufficient to meet the more urgent demands, for Dom Pedro's signature to a financial document had a value.

The Cadet Rifle Corps was now attached to Colonel Shaw's Scotch Battalion of Fusiliers. We were rather complimented by this, and we well knew that Shaw had a peculiar way of his own of leading his friends on to glory.

Sir Charles Shaw writes me:—"February the 3rd, 1833, I was ordered with the Scotch, Volunteer Riflemen,

and a detachment of the 12th Caçadores, to command Lordello for three days, but was kept there *six months*."

The 28th was the first time I had seen a soldier's funeral; those who were off duty met and followed to the grave in the English cemetery Adjutant Marly and Captain Clarke, who were much respected; they had been mortally wounded on the 24th.

Sixty shells were thrown into the city in the evening, which, falling into streets and houses, made much havoc; numbers of men, women, and children, who remained in their homes, suffered. The troops, being halted near the lines, escaped. Desultory firing took place night and day, generally from 4 till 9 p.m, and from 3 to 8 in the morning, when ambulances went round to carry off the mutilated bodies.

At the end of the month the Cadet Rifles had the beautiful Carmelite convent given to them as quarters; it had been sadly riddled by shot, and knocked about by shells. We found here excellent cooking arrangements, furniture, some bedding, religious books, and heaps of manuscript sermons.

At the end of January there was some desertion to the Miguelites from the foreign corps, mainly in search of food.

CHAPTER XI.

FEBRUARY.

Saldanha's reception of the Rifles—Desertion to the enemy—Cholera increasing—Dine on board H.M.S. 'Etna;' a dinner worth having—Slightly wounded—The Rifles go with the Scotch to Lordello—Supposed dialogue between Dom Pedro and Saldanha about strengthening the lines—Saldanha builds the Pinhal and other batteries—The real dialogue appeared in 1866—Cholera increases—Only ten days' provisions and at starving point in the city—Misery indeed—Shaw wants to attack, take, and keep Serralves battery; not allowed—Bag of powder story—Captain Warner, he did nothing—Murderous inventions—Foz, a "deserted village," Colonel Fonseca its brave governor—Lemos asks Torres to surrender the Serra; in vain—Shaw's knowledge of Portuguese not favourable for him—His opinion of the Rifles—Some steal food—General starvation—Dom Pedro's quartermaster-general a magician—Horses, mules, donkeys, cats, dogs, rats, and mice eaten—Miguelite prisoners allowed to return to their camp; we have no food for them—Only powder for one fight—Baron Trenck—Mutinous state of the Rifles—I apply to join Portuguese artillery—A good dinner—Starvation dialogue—Charity.

February 1st. General Conde de Saldanha had a reception, to which the Rifle corps was invited. It was quite refreshing to hear him talk to his English visitors in their own language.

He had been refused a passage by the English (Tory) Government's packet sailing from Falmouth. He went to Plymouth, thence, almost by stealth, to Oporto. He was a fine, soldierly-looking man, and we believed in him being an uncompromising Liberal. He asked us how we were getting on and if we had any complaints to make. We replied in the negative, but that we had rather rough times

of it. "Such is war, my good young friends, and to be a good soldier, independently of being brave, one must know well how to suffer."

At parting he said, "Whenever you think I can be of service to you, pray come to me." We went away quite charmed with the old Peninsular commander.

Saldanha[1] was about six feet in height, had grey hair, moustache and whiskers, wore spectacles, and was then in his fifty-third year.

We gave a party at our new quarters in the convent, and a right merry night we had of it, with port-wine negus in abundance. We profanely wished that some of the former fair occupants had been there, then we might have had a dance. The next day we found that four of our servants had been stealing the leaden water pipes of the convent. They were flogged and dismissed.

There was still a little desertion from our side, but more from the other, to us on political grounds.

The cholera was making very rapid strides; provisions were very scarce, and, as a matter of course, extremely dear.

One day I was invited to dine on board H.M. bomb-ship 'Etna' (Captain Belcher), by Lieutenant Mitchell. We had been shipmates on board the 'Adventure' discovery ship in South America. One of the dishes was roast-mutton, which I had not tasted for many a long day.

After dinner I landed at the Wall, and pursuing my way to quarters, I got a spent shot from the other side of the river, striking the calf of my left leg, which dropped me. I was taken into a house hard by, when the wound, being only a slight flesh one, was dressed. But I stopped there that night, having every attention shown me.

On the 6th, our Rifles, excepting eight who were in

hospital, accompanied the Scotch to their quarters on the Lordello lines, to act as an advance picket in a most exposed position, having the "Yellow house" given to us. On the second night, the pickets of our Rifles were driven in twice, but at daybreak two of the enemy's were picked off by our boys. The weather was cold and wet, so a nip of spirits in the raw early morn warmed us up.

As usual, the enemy gave Oporto shot and shell in abundance. I saw one poor woman struck down and killed by a cannon ball. Several soldiers were killed and wounded in their barracks at this period.

A few pages back it is mentioned that doubts were expressed whether Dom Pedro would receive Saldanha, but the General, as a matter of course, presented himself at head-quarters. I am led to believe that he was not well received; but he had Dom Pedro's orders to examine the lines and batteries and give his opinion as to their state of efficiency.

Saldanha proceeded at once to his work, and on his reappearance before Dom Pedro, something in these terms appears to have passed:—"Well, General, I am sure you found the lines and batteries in fair condition—say." Saldanha: "The river, the eastern and northern lines, are in a good state of defence; the north-east is weak; Lordello is most unsafe, as well as the lines to the north-west of it; the enemy should have no difficulty, supported as they are by their Serralves and Ervilha batteries and intermediate field works, in cutting off our connection with the Foz at any moment, which would be our ruin." Dom Pedro: "What would you advise?" Saldanha: "Strengthen the lines of Lordello and erect there a couple of batteries." Dom Pedro: "Then have the goodness to attend specially to that matter."

This Saldanha did at once, 500 men being put at his disposal, by strengthening the works at Van Zeller Quinta, and by the erection of two strong batteries to the north-west of Lordello—one, at first called the Pinhal, subsequently the Saldanha,* and the Pasteleiro, which was a masterly engineering move. Before the Pinhal was half completed, seven carpenters had been killed, so close were these works to the enemy.

Saldanha took command of the left with his head-quarters at the Foz, the hottest part of the whole line of defence.†

Sir Thomas Stubbs had his old command as Governor of Oporto. He had been a distinguished officer during the Peninsular War. At the battle of Vittoria, 21st June, 1813, the following is said of him:—"The Portuguese troops in the 3rd and 4th divisions, under Brigadier-General Power and Colonel Stubbs, led the march, with a steadiness and gallantry never surpassed on any occasion."

In "Extraits de l'Histoire Générale des Hommes d'Etat et de Guerre," already alluded to, at page 92 there is a valuable letter written by the Duke of Saldanha, dated Cintra, 22nd October, 1866, wherein he states:—That the difficulties with the army in particular were such that the government of Dom Pedro was obliged to call him; but to disguise the consideration this would give

* Shaw's Mem., ii., 17: At head-quarters this new redoubt got the name of the "Pinhal," but in every return of duty furnished them, I named it "Saldanha Battery," and before long it generally received that appellation.

† A friend informs me that "Lord George Paulet, when in command of H.B.M. ship 'Nautilus,' in the Douro, could tell much of the interior working and differences of Dom Pedro and Saldanha, caused by that poor creature, General Valdez."

him, Dom Pedro sent an order to Paris that *all emigrés without exception* should go to Oporto. Lafayette and Sir Sydney Smith advised him not to go, without he received a letter from Dom Pedro; still he started, and arriving off Oporto, went on board Sartorius' ship, the Admiral advising him to return to England, if he and his companions did not wish to add to the victims; however, Saldanha landed that same night. The cold reception he had from the Emperor was fully compensated by the enthusiasm of his old comrades. On the morning after landing, and whilst returning from visiting the lines, he met the Emperor, who asked him what he thought of the defences. He replied, they were bad, and he was convinced there were four points by which, with a few regiments, such as he had commanded, he could get into the city; "but the worst is," said Saldanha, "your Majesty being hermetically sealed, you must surrender." "Why so?" asked the Emperor. Saldanha replied—"The enemy has a very powerful battery at Serralves, near to Lordello; from Serralves to their fort Castro, the direction of the enemy's line is more than a league, and from the same battery to the river *there is only a quarter of a mile.* If, instead of continuing the line to the sea, it was taken from Serralves to the Douro, it would be impossible for us, absolutely impossible, to receive munitions of war or provisions from outside. Your Majesty will not have a great loss in my person; let me have five hundred men; I will go outside the lines to see what is to be done." He had already taken note of a height covered with pine-trees—a Pinhal—where Solignac had been beaten on the 24th; it completely commanded the beach at the Foz, where munitions and provisions for the garrison had to be landed. The following morning, in an interview with Solignac, the latter observed

that on the 24th he was fighting there for some hours ; that it was now occupied by the enemy's pickets, that it was gross folly to think of trying to take it ; and positively ordered Saldanha not to attempt it. He left Solignac profoundly afflicted, for he had the conviction that all would be lost if that height was not taken. He was persuaded that his conscience would for ever accuse him of having lost the Queen's cause and that of liberty, if he obeyed Solignac's order. At midnight he attacked the picket of the enemy at the point of the bayonet, with four companies of the 10th of the line, and took the heights. Half-an-hour afterwards, Colonel Barrieros, aide-de-camp to Solignac, came to inquire what was the cause of so brisk a fire on the part of the enemy. Saldanha "begged him to say that he had captured the height (on which he wished to erect a strong battery), of which he had spoken to him in the morning, and that all the forces of the enemy should not dislodge him. Subsequently he remarked : "I have the conviction that this act of disobedience saved the cause I defended." Here he erected the "Saldanha Battery," of which many of us were very proud.

It was currently believed that we had only ten days' rations of salt fish* in the city ; the cholera became worse, but the melancholy fact was kept as quiet as possible, so as not to increase alarm.

Starvation of the worst sort was seen in all directions; indeed we now experienced every species of misery, and

* The only luxury of the common people in Portugal is tobacco ; and when any one can reach the height of a dried cod-fish or *Bacalhao*, he regards himself as at the summit of his earthly felicity .

Bacalhao is salted poor-jack, ling, cod-fish ; so named from Bacalhao, an island off the S.E. of Newfoundland, where they are found.—Bradshaw, 1866, by Dr. Charnock.

one had to be selfish for one's own preservation. At this time, when on a march, I saw a famished mother extended in the streets, her child clinging to her, crying piteously for food. It was a dreadful spectacle!

I myself considered half a biscuit, or a piece of maize bread and an onion, a good meal.

We had cold weather, with tremendous gales of wind and torrents of rain; the bar at the mouth of the river was impassable on account of the heavy rollers, which prevented vessels outside disembarking provisions.

The enemy had been annoying us very much at Lordello from the Serralves battery; to try and stop this, or at least to show them we were on the alert, we got a couple of field-pieces and a howitzer into position, returning them occasionally the compliment. The "Saldanha" battery, then in course of erection, gave them a few shot and shell also. The Scotch under Shaw, at their exposed and advanced quarters, and the Rifles at the Casa Amarelha picket, had to be well on the watch.

Colonel Shaw was so much annoyed by the Serralves battery that he had serious ideas of taking and keeping it. I was honoured by being of his council on this occasion. One of his plans was the following:—That I should be one of a party to hook on to the gates of the Serralves a hide bag containg fifty pounds of powder, explode it, which would have blown the gates open—this would have produced the panic he required; he would have attacked, taken the battery, and would have done his best to have kept it with his Scotch. But he was not allowed to distinguish himself on this occasion. Thirty-three years after this period, I wrote to Sir Charles Shaw for particulars on this head, when he sent me the following:—

The *Story of the Bag of Gunpowder* is this:—"I met

Captain Warner one night when I went to Oporto. He spoke of his invention to blow up Serralves. I told him if the materials were not very heavy, I, with the assistance of two or three brave fellows, could place it below the battery, not more than 150 yards from my quarters. I gave him a small room in the Fabrica with a sentry over it, in which room he deposited a barrel. He offered me a share in his invention, which of course I declined; but I said to Sergeant Mitchell, 'If he tells you the secret, do not tell me; but if you think he is humbugging, tell me quietly.' Mitchell mentioned to me a young gentleman who was a chemist, and it must have been you; and I told Saldanha one of the Rifles was to be with me. Warner's affair was all humbug, and he did nothing. It appeared to me that fulminating silver was Warner's principal agent, the use of which, by percussion, would burst a shell without a fuze."

Under date 29th January, I note that a Captain (probably Warner) had brought out "a wonderful artillery vessel;" that he was to give the Miguelite battery near the mouth of the river a sound banging. This did not come off.

Shaw says,* in September, 1832, there came to Oporto a person who was said to have invented a horribly destructive instrument, in the shape of small pellets which exploded by being trampled on, tearing the legs of those who put their feet on them. When I first began war it was thought unnatural to use slugs instead of musket-balls; this is altered, therefore I have little doubt that

* In "Memoirs," i. 425, p. 423, is a description of Wilkinson's method of detecting poachers. Shaw suggests a little alteration by which it could be used at out-posts with half the sentries, and would save soldiers from over-fatigue and want of sleep before an enemy.

these pellets will in time be considered small shells, though more destructive.

1868-9.—For some years past inventors of destructive shot, shell, &c., have also turned their attention to a most destructive and explosive musket-ball. It would appear that the various Governments do not think it right or prudent to patronise the new devilry. When a soldier is *hors de combat*, what more is wanted?

When not on picket duty, a favourite stroll of mine, fully accoutred, was from Lordello along the high road to St. João da Foz, at the mouth of the river, the only door to our well-besieged and cooped-up position. The little town had already been battered into ruins, and might well be called a "deserted village," the population having left, its lines and defences only occupied by soldiers. The active officer here was Colonel José da Fonseca; he had been aide-de-camp to Sir Robert Wilson during the Peninsular war. He had put La Senhora da Luz—the lighthouse to the north of the village—into a good state of defence, and rendered it capable of holding a battalion of infantry; the Foz, or castle, although roughly fortified, was strong and imposing; and his advance lines, having the Luz battery to protect them, were good, considering the scanty means at his disposal. The whole of the district was a most exposed position, and ought to have been taken by the enemy over and over again; but they left it, like many other of their projected operations, for *amanhaa*—to-morrow, which day never comes.

On the 10th a proposition was made by the Miguelite General Lemos to surrender the Serra, which, as a matter of course, was indignantly refused.

Sir Charles Shaw informed me in 1868, that on the 10th of February, 1833, the Duke of Terceira, Fronteira, and de

Camara, came to Lordello ; they went up into the belfry of the church, accompanied by himself, and after examining the lines and formidable battery of Serralves, Fronteira in particular, seeing the strength of the Miguelite positions, said in Portuguese, "*It was clear that they must capitulate.*" Shaw abruptly observed : "I understand the Portuguese language very well ; you may capitulate, but myself and my Scotch would not surrender, but rather cut our way through to Spain." Fronteira, especially, never forgave Shaw's knowledge of Portuguese.

The Miguelites * on the 11th opened another battery of four guns, 18 and 24-pounders, and two mortars, opposite the Rabida, the fire being principally directed against the Torre da Marca ; at the same time their battery on the Castro Hill was getting on fast, and a strong redoubt near Lordello threatened to cut off all supplies from Oporto. Several houses in the city that had hitherto been considered safe now suffered ; some inhabitants barricaded their dwellings with bags of cotton, and strewed bullocks' hides to defend them against shells. The Emperor took me one morning into his room to ask me if I thought it secure—it was, indeed, but a small place for a bed. The Miguelite redoubt at Serralves especially threatened the communication with the Foz ; this was pointed out by Duvergier, and represented to the Emperor and the Marshal. Indeed, it was self-evident that, if the enemy took possession of our passage between the kitchen and dining-room, we should get no dinner.

I was detailed with a comrade to go to our convent quarters in the city, and when near the stockade of the Villar battery, a shell from the enemy burst on a wall hard by. Fortunately, we only got a dusting ; but before we could

* Badcock, p. 194.

shake ourselves a cannon ball came whizzing over our heads. These salutes were from a new battery on the other side of the river, firing at the Villar lines and at our battery of the Conigos.

On the 12th the Rifles were relieved from the out-line post of Casa Amarelha by a company of the 12th Caçadores, when we marched back to quarters.*

With privates' pay in arrears, rations at sore starvation point, some of my comrades sallied forth that night to steal food, one party returning with a string of sausages. A few days afterwards, I went to the hospital to see my friend B—— and other comrades—afterwards for our now homœopathic rations. I had divided the salt fish, stone-hard black biscuit, and wine as equally as possible, when a scramble took place by my comrades. Baron Kierrulff's son, who had arrived with the intention of getting something to eat with me, managed to grab a small salt fish, otherwise we should have been badly off. A chum of mine, the son of a baronet, got a large quantity of wine, which had been portioned off, in a wash-hand basin. After our truly Lenten meal, I sallied out, and met with Sir J. M. Doyle, who was on his way to the theatre. He took me with him. It was a gala night and under the patronage of Marshal Solignac, who was not, however, present. "Cato" was the play, with an amusing afterpiece. The next day

* Shaw's Mem. ii., 102. "About this time some forty young gentlemen, the greater proportion of whom had come out with promises of commissions from Sir J. M. Doyle, had been formed into a company of riflemen, and in a flattering manner had volunteered to serve under my orders. I gave them the post of honour, placing them in the house of Pasteleiro, about half-way between Lordello and Foz—and here for nine days they did their duty in a noble manner, without covering, always exposed to shot, and with little or nothing to eat—as to sleep, that was out of the question."

I had again to resign my post as quartermaster. There was one good reason, for no more rations were given out. How Dom Pedro managed to procure food for the soldiery for so long a period was to me a wondrous fact. He must have had a magician for his quartermaster-general.

Animal food (query horse?) was at two shillings the pound. A worthy friend, Mr. D——, a merchant, gave me a very plain breakfast at Peixe's—the charge for two persons was twelve shillings. Had it not been for this gentleman, I should occasionally have had very hard times of it, both for food and clothing. Famine was rife, dogs and cats were declared Miguelites, particularly by the French and Belgians. One of my comrades had caught a cat; a sort of Irish stew was made of it, and eaten. The smell was enough for me. I was informed that the rats that used to run about the streets "screaming" at night were heard no longer—they had been caught and eaten.

We had now many Miguelite prisoners in the city; they were clothed in scarlet, and did fatigue duty, some of them being in chains. Those who had been wounded had the option of returning to Dom Miguel, which they did not readily take advantage of. However, I saw at times a few on crutches and sticks hobbling across the lines, generally in quest of food.

On the 14th, a considerable discharge of artillery was kept up all day on the city. A rich priest was killed. On the 15th, heavy fire in the afternoon. At the public kitchen the soup was composed of little more than rice, but it kept alive thousands of people. Donkey flesh sold at one shilling per pound. Numbers of poor were starved to death! People might be seen growing daily weaker and weaker, until they dropped off. There was not more ammunition left than required to fight one action. Solignac was

pressed to do something decisive—he showed his returns, and said he certainly could get his army destroyed in two hours, but that there was no hope of a successful sortie.

On the 18th Colonel Sorrel, the British Consul, and Colonel Badcock, the British Military Commissioner, consulted, and it was proposed that the latter should go to Braga with terms; for four more days' provisions could not be calculated on. The Emperor, however, was firm, and resolved to abide to the last extremity. Some salt fish and other provisions were disembarked at the Foz the same evening.

Those of the foreign officers who had means were very kind to those of their countrymen and others who had not, or who could not readily obtain funds from "home." I sometimes passed a pleasant evening, particularly at Captain Harpur's* quarters, when we had a rubber at whist, pianoforte music, some singing, and a light supper, often of bread and cheese and onions, and port-wine negus.

I occasionally dined with the Swedish Baron Kierrulf, who, with his son, were volunteers. The Baron was rather a celebrity. He was then over seventy years of age, and a fine, tall, brisk, handsome man. He had a wonderful collection of military stories connected with the Continental wars, some most amusing. One of the most interesting of his recitals was an account of his early days when in a Swedish prison for eighteen months, having for his companions a colony of mice he had tamed. He told us he had known Baron Trenck.†

* Died as Colonel in Lisbon, 1866.

† Baron Trenck, a Prussian officer, born in 1726. His accomplishments won the heart of the Princess Amelia, sister of Frederick, who resolved

I have already adverted to a Jew who belonged to the Rifles. He was so jeered at by some of his comrades, but without cause, for his want of bravery, that, to prove he had pluck, he shot himself through the right arm—a flesh wound, which caused him to go to the hospital. This scandalous affair was hushed up, and the Miguelite pickets got the credit for his wound. Our Rifle corps was now in a high state of disorganization, want of provisions being the general cry. Indeed there was more than a rumour that even some of the foreign officers would have had no objection to become Miguelites, regular pay, promotion, and good fare having been offered.

Seeing the mutinous state of the Rifles, I became anxious to leave them and join the Portuguese artillery, for which purpose Sir J. M. Doyle introduced me to the Commandant of Artillery, Colonel Baptista da Silva Lopez, who promised to forward my views, but averred that he had an excess of officers and cadets—also, that from my being a foreigner, it was contrary to the rules of the service to admit me. Sir J. M. Doyle pressed upon the Commandant that I was a particular friend of his, "muito cientifico," &c., &c. "Muito bem," said the Colonel, "I am very busy just now, come and see me again." I began studying artillery.

Colonel Shaw wrote a noble letter to Dom Pedro, expressing a wish, under present circumstances, in the name of himself and his officers, that they would receive no pay until they got to Lisbon, which, of course, was acceded to.

to punish him. He was imprisoned in the fortress of Goltz, but contrived to escape. In 1758 he was siezed at Dantzig, and was conveyed to Magdeburg, where, loaded with irons, he was for years incarcerated. He procured his liberation in 1763; he ultimately settled in France in 1791; and in 1794, having been charged with being a secret emissary of the King of Prussia, he closed his career under the axe of the guillotine.

On the 21st the Rifles were ordered to turn out of the convent, and go again on picket duty to Lordello. There were only six ready and willing to go, namely Bentinck, W. Doyle, Linton, Deacon, Lacy, Holms, and the author —upon the principle of *duty* first, *discussion* afterwards. One of our corps, S——, sent a challenge to a Baron W——, when S—— was ordered to prison. Myself and a guard had to see him there, when I found an English officer incarcerated on suspicion of carrying on correspondence with the Miguelites. Some fifteen of the Rifles now sent in their resignations.

The 22nd, the anniversary of Dom Miguel's return to Portugal in 1828, from his forced travels and long residence at the northern courts. The Miguelites stationed at Villa Nova must have had extra rations of wine and agua-ardente on the occasion, for they were all day and night shouting out "Ré chegou, ré chegou"—the King has come, the King has come—their batteries giving us abundance of shot and shell as salvos, particularly against the Foz, at six a.m., at noon, and at sunset.

On the 23rd, Colonel Badcock saw the soldiers put their whole ration of provisions into their mouths at once. Wine was good and in plenty, which was the main-stay of the army. The 'Lord of the Isles' steamer got safely into the river bringing French and Belgian recruits.

25th.—In advance of our Yellow-house picket at Lordello, the battery there being nearly finished, Linton and self went to see if we could not punish the Miguelite picket-firers, but were not allowed to do so, although shots were flying and falling about us, one nearly wounding me in the leg. At one p.m. we heard heavy firing up the river, which put us all in motion. We were, however, soon informed that H.B.M. ships 'Orestes,' 'Echo,' 'Etna,'

and 'Nautilus' had been firing a salute, it being the birthday of Queen Adelaide, our battery at Torre da Marca saluting at the same time. During the afternoon I went to the city, when a comrade hurried me off to "Cooper's on the Wall"—a ship-chandler's, not 300 yards from the Miguelite side of the river—when we had such a dinner—pea-soup, pickled pork, roll-pudding, and no want of good drinkables. This night Oporto was visited by a terrific thunder-storm, with most vivid lightning, hail, and torrents of rain.

Several of our corps had got tired of soldiering in a besieged and starving city, and left for England.

Those of the Rifles who had obeyed late orders had good billets apportioned to them, and were otherwise looked after in the way of rations and pay, thanks to our good friend, Colonel Shaw.

Whilst passing a sort of chandler's shop, I heard the following, in reply to a would-be customer:—"Ay! Lord Jesus! we have neither lard nor oil—we have nothing. Death to the Miguelites! I wish the others (meaning the Pedroites) were at the devil; we shall all die of starvation." "Have you any snuff?" "Not a pinch left."

I was on most friendly terms with Senhor P—— and his son, most devoted followers of Donna Maria. The father came to see me at my billet, and, handing me a packet, disappeared instanter. I opened it, when I found a handful of cruzados novos (each worth about 2s. 3d). This was real charity.

The enemy now got some guns to bear upon the Oporto bridge, thus endangering very much our connection with the Serra convent, particularly during the day.

All the cats and dogs in Oporto had disappeared.

CHAPTER XII.

MARCH.

Oporto past and present—Attack on 4th March; Rifles in action; Shaw's wonderful energy; Saldanha saved Oporto; his great military talents; Miguelite corporal shot by his own people; double rations! after the fight—Napier offered the command of the navy—Dom Pedro's glorious "obstinacy"—Heavy bombardment of the city—Scotch and Rifles thanked for their doings on 4th March—Author ill; goes to hospital—Some of the Rifles eat their dog "Cribb"—Provisions landed—Cruelties of war—Sir John Campbell in command of the Miguelites—The Serra pounded—Dom Pedro ill—Church bells turned into coin—Sartorius dismissed—Funeral ceremonies—Dom Pedro's difficulties increase—Pedroite and Miguelite officers meet on board British men-of-war; no arrangements effected—Our lines attacked; those in hospital turn out; we lose and retake the Antas batteries; Colonel Sadler killed—Reflections—No treason in our camp—Patriotism—Scotch and Rifles decorated with the order of the Tower and Sword for the 4th and 24th March—Author leaves hospital; malicious Court of Inquiry held upon him; honourable acquittal—Rifles turbulent—Rothschild's idea of settling the war—Mendizabal, our financier, arrives—Only *one barrel* of powder in the arsenal—Dom Pedro ill again—Sir J. M. Doyle goes to Vigo to arrest Sartorius; but who arrests him—French fleet off the coast—Fowls £3 the pair—Author studies theoretical artillery in hospital—Hospital parasites—Miguelites and Pedroites swear by their beards—Sick, wounded, killed—Military hospitals—My library—Art or game of war.

March 1st.—Our comrades the Scotch, under Colonel Shaw, now left their quarters, the church of Lordello, for another, that of Mattau Sept, which was much nearer to the enemy. The Colonel of the 12th Caçadores had taken the heavy leaden weights of the church clock to make bullets.

What a difference now did Oporto present compared to when I arrived, only six months before! All the shops were then open, the streets were crowded, hospitable receptions were given by the inhabitants, there was abundance of provisions, fruit and wine, and the weather was beautiful. Now the shops were closed, the houses had been battered by shell and shot, the few families remaining lived in the most retired and even underground portions of their once comfortable dwellings and happy homes, and when any one now required admission, from behind a strongly-bolted door there was heard a surly "Quem está ahi?" ("Who is there?") and, generally, the answer that there was no one at home. One street, the well-to-do and picturesque Rua Nova dos Ingleses (containing the English factory-house, the imposing-looking Bishop's palace on a high rock at its farther end) was nearly battered to pieces, and deserted; except, now and then, one met with hungry, tattered officers and soldiers. I ofttimes felt this state of famine myself, although, not long before, I had served a good apprenticeship in the starvation line when on my journey from Peru to Chile along the coast of the great desert of Atacama.

The Miguelite Commander-in-chief, Santa Martha, was superseded by Count St. Lorenço,* so we supposed he would soon see what he could do with us "rebeldes." We could have informed him that our little force within the devoted city was quite ready.

* The author of the "Civil War" observes:—At the commencement of March, 1833, Dom Miguel's people had behaved with considerable irregularity in Braga, particularly some of those placed near to their master's person. Santa Martha was suddenly dismissed from the command of the Miguelite army. There had been a council of war, in which he expressed his decided opinion that terms of capitulation should be offered, such as the besieged could accept. Dom Miguel's answer to this opinion was naming the Conde de San Lorenço his commander.

Sunday, the 3rd.—Raining in torrents all day, and heavy bombardment. At night the Rifles got to a new picket house at Lordello in a mill below the stream. I was corporal of the picket, so was up all night, expecting something or other.

4th March.—Great attack on Lordello and Foz lines. At 5 a.m. Colonel Shaw came to our Rifle picket, telling us that there would be some warm work before the day was over, so we looked well to our rifles and ammunition. As corporal, I was ordered, with some companions, to an abandoned fabrica, a silk factory, to do our best there, and only to retire if driven out by the enemy. When it was getting light, we heard firing on our right, but the real attack was evidently intended for our part of the lines. In a short time the fabrica got smartly peppered with musket shot, the enemy coming on in strong and deep columns* upon our position, when myself and party had to retreat into the Foz road. The Scotch were hard at it firing splendid volleys. We were now joined by the gallant 10th, Pacheco's regiment. The Rifles now got on an elevated spot under pretty good cover, and where they could see what they were at. There was now a fierce and sustained attack on the Pasteleiro, Saldanha, and Luz batteries, during which time I had to *run* † to our picket-house for a barrel of ammunition, bringing it on my shoulder. The fire of the enemy after a time slackened, and we heard them sound a retreat. We were soon informed that the enemy had been repelled from our lines several times. Had they not, we must have

* This advancing in column was bad management, the more particularly as we were in line, and behind walls and breastworks, and in houses, to say nothing of the shot and shell from our batteries, making death-dealing passages through the masses.

† Having been seen to *run*, led most maliciously to a Court of Inquiry, of which see further on.

been cut off from the Foz, our only point of communication with the outer world. Of the Scotch, Ensign Smith fell early in the defence of his post; his brother, the Captain, shortly afterwards received three wounds, falling on his brother's body. I assisted to carry the Captain to Colonel Shaw's quarters. I was dead beat about noon, and had a parching thirst. I swallowed a cup of coffee, threw myself on the ground, and went soundly to sleep. At 4 p.m., the enemy showed symptoms of renewing the attack upon our part of the lines. They advanced in good order, but there was a descent to make, and then an ascent before they could well get at the defenders of this portion of the lines, and in the descent they suffered considerably, as we could take steady aim at them. They wanted a little of the bull-dog rush, so essential in such sort of attacks; still we agreed that, with their overwhelming numbers, they ought to have succeeded in their object of cutting us off from the Foz, and then to have got into the city.* The sturdy defence the Scotch had made, and the assistance afforded by a handful of Rifles, was soon known at head-quarters, and at six p.m. thanks and wine were sent to us by Dom Pedro, also double rations for the defenders of Lordello.

The activity and energy of Colonel Shaw was something astonishing, considering he had been lately so seriously wounded. He was ubiquitous, with his red woollen night-cap, pea-jacket, and big stick. His ammunition failed him about half-past nine. Shaw was in his glory—he got the loan of a field-piece from Saldanha (who must have

* Badcock, p. 209.—"Had the Miguelites thrown themselves with force to the right they would have possessed themselves of the Foz, when the whole of Dom Pedro's supplies must have been cut off, and a surrender compelled. But their operations were miserably conducted."

had his hands full), and away he blazed at approaching columns with grape and canister, which surprised and staggered the enemy.

Shaw* observes: "Saldanha knew that Lordello was the key to Oporto, and watched it much. He was in the Pasteleiro battery before daylight on the 4th. 3000 of the enemy came down on Lordello with very heavy firing on us. From the number of dead in front of the Scotch, their intrenchment was named the 'Flecha dos Mortos.' Our fire was under cover, cool, sure, and deliberate, and continued for five hours on heavy exposed columns. *Saldanha saved Oporto*, but I fear intrigue won't give him credit. It was a glorious day for a soldier, and I shared it with him." (The Duke of Saldanha, when in London in 1864, talking about the defence of Oporto, thirty-two years afterwards, with the writer, spoke of the 4th March and 25th July, 1833, with soldierly pride and feeling.)

Extract of a letter from Sir C. Shaw, October, 1865:—

"Early on the morning of the 4th March, I knew from Saldanha I was to be attacked at Lordello, and, of course, was prepared. We repulsed the enemy, and a small flèche was erected, afterwards called the "Flecha dos Mortos,' from the number we had killed. This was garrisoned by the Scotch and Rifles (at the White House, [the author's], your first quarters)—but in the beginning of July the English joined the Scotch and were put under my command. About the 20th July Saavedra came, with many compliments to me and the Scotch, *but that I was aware the English were a drunken set and could not be depended on.* I denied it, and brought to his recollection the 29th September, 1832, and even on the 17th November, when he must have seen how beautifully they behaved WHEN HE LEFT THEM. My people were ordered out of the Flecha and replaced, after the 4th March, by the 10th Portuguese, their best regiment."

In another letter Shaw calls this the "Fight at Lordello," for the defence of which he was thanked by the Emperor, Saldanha, Solignac, and Terceira, was pro-

* Memoirs, ii., 237.

moted to a lieutenant-colonelcy, and made an officer of the order of the Tower and Sword.

"At day-break on the 4th,* the enemy made a false attack on the right, but heavy columns moved on Saldanha's position. He had three strong points of defence, the batteries of Pasteleiro, the Pinhal, and the Senhora da Luz. The intermediate spaces, all cavalry ground, were filled up with the thin line of a few, but chosen, troops, amongst which were the noted Pacheco's 10th, Major Shaw's regiment, both of which had often distinguished themselves—*some young men of a better class, called English riflemen, who had come out as volunteers;* the 12th Cagadores; and Major Rangle's "movable" battalion. The Miguelites came rushing in the certainty of taking, as they supposed, the gunless battery. The first column was allowed to approach "until the batteries could be distinguished," according to Saldanha's orders, when they were received with such discharges of grape-shot that they fell back on their second column, and great confusion and carnage were the result. A wicked attempt was made on the interval between the Pasteleiro and the Pinhal, the weakest point, well supported by their cavalry. The Flecha dos Mortos was well fought for, when the brave Scot charged, and his foe gave way. Pacheco fought as he had always been accustomed to do, and Colonel Fonseca, in the defence of the Luz, sent some rockets among their columns, when the affair ended in their having the field unusually covered with killed and wounded. A demonstration was made on the Serra convent, but the enemy soon retired. It had been bombarded all the preceding night.

"On the 3rd of March a man from Villa Nova, then living in Oporto, received information that Saldanha's position was to be attacked next morning—because a corporal of the 10th regiment had that day deserted and had informed the enemy that the new battery had not a gun laid. Guns were at once sent to the battery, with orders to work them. The corporal who had deserted to the enemy, and had given true information, was shot, after the action was over, by his newly adopted friends, for having, as they supposed, intentionally deceived them."

The Official Report.

The fort of Monte Castro, abandoned by the Miguelites on the 24th January, was again fortified; the Serradves was strengthened—these and other immediate works were very troublesome to the Liberals. Saldanha, however, had constructed batteries, and dug trenches communicating with some by a covered way. His two fine batteries of Pinhal and Pasteleiro, by their cross fire, were a match for Monte Castro, and protected in a great

* "Civil War" p. 177.

measure La Luz. On the 3rd he got information that his position would be attacked on the following day, so during the night he placed guns in his scarcely completed works. At day-light on the 4th the enemy made a false attack on the right, after which heavy columns came on Saldanha's batteries. Pacheco defended the Pinhal with a battalion of the 10th, and the Minho battalion under Osorio. Pasteleiro was in charge of Cabral with a portion of the 3rd regiment.

The flèche which joined these two batteries was occupied by a strong picket of the 3rd and 10th. The Luz was defended by the 1st Movables under Rangel. The communication between Pasteleiro and Lordello was confided to Major Shaw and his Scotch Fusiliers, and the English Rifle Volunteers. Lordello was occupied by a battalion of the 9th infantry.

A host of Miguelite skirmishers came on, followed by strong detachments, and then formidable columns marching boldly upon Lordello, Pasteleiro, Pinhal; and at the same time another column came on between the Pinhal and La Luz.

Saldanha prohibited firing until the enemy had come quite close; then he ordered his fire to commence, and his men went to the charge. Such was the mortality caused among the enemy that those men who had retired from their attack could not be brought back. The guns of the Pasteleiro and rockets from La Luz completed the discomfort of the enemy, who left 300 dead on the field, their wounded amounting to 1200.

The Liberals lost in this stubborn and successful defence 2 officers and 13 men killed; 10 officers and 84 men wounded.* Officers and men so distinguished themselves that they at once received thanks from Dom Pedro and the gratitude of the inhabitants.

At 3 a.m. there was a fierce bombardment of the Serra, and more than a thousand shell and shot were thrown into the convent. Besides this the enemy left their camp at Carabella, in two columns, one by Quebrantoes, another by Feronica, towards the Serra, with heavy firing. Torres gave their reserves, in particular, such quantities of well-directed grape and canister that by nine o'clock the enemy withdrew, having sustained considerable loss; that of Torres was only 1 officer and 5 men.

In Saldanha's† preparations for the defence of the Lordello lines previous to the attack on them on the 4th March, 1833, it is stated in the "Extraits," there were some who said he would be beaten, but all had to recognise the justness of his plans.

To make war advantageous, it is not sufficient to have

* "Civil War," p. 178, says 158, including 17 officers.

† "Extraits de l'His. des Hommes d'Etat," &c. Geneva, 1868-9, p. 8

brave soldiers led by chiefs of ability and courage; it is not always that the greater number must conquer; it is indispensable to know well the ground on which the fight is to take place, to know how to choose favourable points and to drive the enemy where they cannot operate favourably; it is requisite to preserve all one's strength and liberty of action, to weary those to be attacked, or against whom one has to defend oneself.

If the general does not know sufficiently the theatre of the war, the place of the scene, all efforts and advantages will be enfeebled or destroyed, and the most learned tactics upset.

This is what often occurs when war is made in an enemy's country. This happened with Generals Bourmont and Solignac, in Portugal, and under opposite circumstances. This is what gave Saldanha the victory over the former (25th July, 1833), and aided him to gain a position (the height on which Saldanha built his battery at Lordello, February, 1833, and his success on the 4th March) that Solignac judged to be disadvantageous.

Saldanha knew Portugal inch by inch, he knew every hole and corner, could appreciate the good and the bad military positions, he knew how to choose some and leave others.

Solignac saw that his designs miscarried, his opinions were not taken; so he resigned, and Saldanha took his post as Chief of the Imperial Staff.

Thus master of the position, Saldanha had full liberty of action, and it was not long before he changed the course of the constitutional cause. The Miguelite army was beaten at all points; good generals, even Bourmont himself, were repulsed from before Oporto (25th July, 1833), as well as from before Lisbon, in October, same year.

Saldanha, in a letter from Cintra, in the "Extraits," dated 1866, says :—

"On the 2nd March, a corporal of the 24th of the line deserted to us. On the 3rd he had gone back. I was immediately persuaded that he was a spy, and would report that the redoubt (Saldanha) had no guns, and that I should be attacked the following morning. We worked incessantly during all that day and by night, and got two guns and a mortar in position. As I had surmised, at break of day the 24th of the line and 8th Caçadores of the enemy attacked the battery. I had ordered that no one was to fire until I gave the word of command, so when the two columns were at fifty paces my shot and musketry routed the assailants. The attack continued all day; the enemy got possession of the Foz for a while. General Telles Jordão had attacked with 10,000 men. My 690 brave fellows had resisted a force ten times their number—thus the 4th of March, 1833, will always be a memorable one in the pages of the constitutional history of our country."*

The following morning, the 5th March, each of the Rifles had for his breakfast the animal food of the promised double rations—a piece of fresh pork two and a half inches square, and the thickness of half a dozen sheets of paper!

On the 6th, fifteen days' salt fish landed at the Foz, and fifty bullocks. An extraordinary "Chronica" was issued, which spoke in glowing terms of the defence of the 4th.

We are informed by Napier† that in February he had been offered the command of Dom Pedro's squadron, which he would not accept without the consent of Sartorius, and wrote him privately on the matter, so as to put him on his guard; also that the Minister of War, Freire, wished Solig-

* Shaw, "Mem.," i., p. 312.—"Lieutenant Barrieros, of the Engineers, when at the Islands, was considered one of the most talented officers in the army;"—ii., p. 18, "Saldanha was well assisted, particularly by Colonel Barrieros. He was not only a theoretical but a brave practical engineer. The works at the Pinhal he constructed were within musket shot of three formidable batteries, and within pistol-shot of another, the Ervilha."

† "Account of the War."

nac to take the field—on paper there were 18,000 men; not half were fit to take the field. That the enemy's force round Oporto was 39,000 infantry and 1500 horse, and Solignac was right not to go out to be beaten.

It is said that the British consul, Colonel Sorrell,* having formed an opinion that the place could not hold out any longer, had proposed to the Emperor that he should enter into terms with Dom Miguel, if they *should be listened to* (and this after the brilliant defence of Lordello on the 4th). Dom Pedro declared his resolution to abide by the result of the siege to the last extremity. This interference was unfortunate, for on subsequent occasions, when advice might have been influentially useful, it was received with suspicion, and Dom Pedro subjected himself to the accusation of "obstinacy." It was likewise ill-timed; for the bar, that had been for many weeks impassable, by a sudden change of weather admitted the landing of a portion of ammunition and provisions.

Captain Glascock† mentions, date 6th March, that "the '23rd de Julio,' brig-of-war, was sunk in the river by the Miguelites; she had fourteen killed and wounded. Four vessels were sunk in deep water to save them. Subsequently one or two of Sartorius' young gemmen took the 'Liberal' out—English of course." This was my friend Lieutenant Salter's dashing exploit.

On the 8th the Miguelites bombarded the city from all their batteries, but without doing anything like the damage intended. Colonel Shaw came to our picket and read a most flattering order of the day, in which the Scotch and Rifles were thanked by Dom Pedro for their services. Just afterwards a captain of artillery, whilst looking

* "Civil War," p. 180.
† "Naval Sketch-book."

through an embrasure of our Yellow-house battery, was shot through the head by a Miguelite picket; the Rifles instanter did their best to revenge his death. Picket-firing became now very common on the part of the enemy, which we had to answer.

Our spies brought intelligence that Dom Miguel had ordered up to the northern lines of Oporto 6000 fresh troops.

I had been very ill for some days past with inflammation of the lungs and severe cough, consequent on exposure and want of food. I went to the city to see Dr. Alcock,* who ordered me to the Formosa-street Hospital with a prescription. Here I found my *protegé*, B———, laid up with the same complaint. I had no rations, no bed, and had to plank it that night, wrapt up in my Spanish cloak, which had been a useful companion many a time for years past.

Next day my boy Jozé brought me a mattress and other necessaries, attending on me with the greatest care. Being on the sick-list, I had soup maigre and a little fresh meat, which I had not tasted for many weeks, during which time I had often been glad to make a meal off a small piece of toasted salt fish and half a biscuit. Some of the Rifles had lately killed our dog 'Cribb,' and feasted on him. Corporal Knight states, the French showed us the example, and before long there was scarcely such a thing as a dog or a cat to be seen in Oporto. "We used to collect snails, and boiling them in two waters with a little salt, they made pretty good prog."

Thirty boat-loads of provisions had just been landed, consisting of bullocks, pigs, sheep, and flour, which was a most merciful godsend; still meat, when procurable,

* Afterwards Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B., &c., &c.

was four shillings a pound. Whilst sick in hospital, Mr. P——, a Pedroite naval officer, came to see me, insisting on my acceptance of some cash to purchase "little comforts."

Captain Glascock, in his "Naval Sketch-book," says: The Pedroites were very badly off for surgeons. The assistant-surgeons of the English squadron attended daily. As for the English hospital, the less we say of it the better. Indeed it was quite a toss-up which exceeded each other in filth, the French or the British.

We have it from Corporal Knight, that about this time "two of the French and one British were taken prisoners, and hung next day within sight of ourselves, putting us all, but especially the French, in a great rage; however, there they hung for some weeks before we could get at them and cut them down, and that morning the French bayonetted forty-two Miguelites whom they took in a field; so after that little quarter was given on either side, by the French or Portuguese."

Sir John Campbell was in command of the Miguelites, and we heard that we might expect some real sport. On our side we had been reinforced by Colonel Cotter from Ireland with 400 men, and a Portuguese regiment had joined us from the Azores.

On the 10th as many as seventy-two boat-loads of provisions were landed within and without the bar. That same day the Serra Convent was terribly pounded, but its glorious defenders stood their ground like heroes. The enemy also set fire to some houses in advance of Lordello. Shelling went on at night; many of the missiles burst in the air, which was rather a source of amusement.

We were all much grieved to hear that Dom Pedro was ill, and had been so for some days; and thought that,

should he die, there would be a grand scramble for power. Loulé, Terceira, and Solignac were also ill.

Many of the church bells were melted and made into forty-reis pieces ($2\frac{4}{5}$d.). Solignac meditated on having a forced loan, not a politic move.

On the 13th Admiral Sartorius was officially dismissed from his command of the fleet. Further on are details on this subject.

On the 15th the city was much annoyed by a kind of shot which broke into splinters on striking the granite walls. Some people were killed.

St. Patrick's Day, 17th of March, our Hibernian comrades kept up even in hospital, singing their "Sprig of shillelagh and shamrock so green" whilst the enemy's shot and shell were whistling about the building. The following day I crept out of the hospital miasma for a walk. On passing the church of San Ildefonso, seeing it lit up, I went up the steps and found that a grand funeral ceremony was about to commence. Before the altar was suspended a square, black velvet canopy, ornamented with gold and silver lace and white silk, under which was a stand to receive the coffin. A large number of wax candles were now lit upon the several small altars, beautifully painted screens were pulled up, discovering in niches the images that were represented on the screens, the paintings of which were much more artistic than the figures, of a dead Christ, the Virgin, and sundry saints. There were in attendance some twenty priests, who had lighted wax candles six feet in length handed to them. The arrival of the corpse was announced, when it was met by the priests, and choristers; the large silver cross, lighted wax tapers and censer borne by the church officials. The choristers took charge of the coffin, placing it under the canopy.

Then commenced the chaunting of the funeral service, the coffin being sprinkled several times with holy water and incense burnt round it. An aged priest appeared to be the chief mourner; tears ran down his cheeks whilst he muttered prayers in a low tone. This part of the ceremony concluded, all quickly departed; the candles were rapidly extinguished, the coffin unceremoniously hauled into the adjoining churchyard, the lid removed, when some gilt finery was taken from the corpse and a sacrament cup out of the hands—for the deceased was a priest. The body was lowered into the grave about three feet deep, which being done and the grave about to be filled in, a poor woman approached begging that her dead babe might be put into the same coffin. The old gravedigger took the dead child, laid it gently in the coffin with the priest, shovelled in the earth, whilst the poor mother knelt in prayer until the grave was closed, and then went away sobbing.

I saw in a copy of the *Times* that Oporto had been taken by Dom Miguel, and all the Pedroites and nearly all the inhabitants put to the sword!

This same day the 'Avon,' laden with flour and oil, ran in under a flag of distress. The Sampaio battery brought her to; the crew abandoned her, she drifted under the battery, and was burnt during the night.

18*th*.—Continual bombardment of the city, when some people were killed and many wounded.*

* About this time, Mr. Wright, a British merchant, was in his drawing-room, when he was struck by an 18-pound shot. Dr. Jebb had to take the arm out of the socket, and part of the blade-bone at the back; to close the jaw, split at the chin with the loss of two teeth; and to cure a wound in the head. Dr. Jebb cured several severe wounds received by Major Shaw, and one through the throat, and another through the lips of a Mr. Glynn, who was aide to Sir Thomas Stubbs.—"Civil War," p. 184.

Now it was that Dom Pedro found himself assailed by unheard-of difficulties.* A powerful and numerous army surrounded him from without; disease and famine, shot and shell, with every kind of intrigue, harassed him and his troops within; the enemy's works daily encroached upon the city; the wounded, the widow, and the orphan at every step met his eye, and his table and his *soirées* were clouded by dismal faces; the ministry outrageously demanded that Solignac should take the field; he as coolly answered that nothing was more easy than to do so, burying four or five thousand men for the glory of the cause, and laying down his arms with the remainder; for that he had neither ammunition nor transport—he could neither fight nor run away.

21*st March*.—Colonel Badcock dined on board the 'Etna,' Captain Belcher,† with one or two officers in Dom Pedro's service, and met there the Marquis Torrebello, aide to the Miguelite General Lemos. The object in bringing parties together in a neutral vessel was to see if any arrangement could be made between them. Nothing was effected.

Napier states that there had been a meeting on board Lord H. Paulet's brig between Saldanha and Torrebello. It was believed that nothing short (on the part of the enemy) than Dom Miguel marrying Donna Maria would be listened to. At this meeting Solignac was very angry.

I went to the theatre. "Inez de Castro" was the play. I had hung my Spanish cloak (it had cost me in Chile £14) up in the box; went out between one of the acts, when on my return it was gone, although a comrade of the Rifles remained in the box. It was fortunate that the ordinary

* "Civil War," p. 179.

† Captain Belcher made a survey of the Douro whilst in the river.

soldier's grey greatcoats had been given to us, or I must have suffered much more from the weather.

Sunday, 24th.—Attack on the lines from the Antas to the Foz. The Antas retaken. About 11 a.m. firing was heard on the right of the line, whilst Dom Pedro, his staff, and many officers were at high mass. The 10th Regiment sustained the first shock, being quickly reinforced by the 1st and 2nd English. Those in the hospital I was in, and who had their arms with them and were strong enough, were at once paraded, and we took up a position, looking more like scarecrows than soldiers, in the Congregados Battery in the N.E., where we found Dom Pedro, and his staff in full dress, bedizened with decorations. Dom Pedro turned artilleryman, working at a 24-pounder and a mortar. At 2.30 the English advanced upon the enemy, getting to close quarters with the bayonet; now one, now the other, had the advantage; at last we got sight of our red jackets running after a retreating enemy; at this Dom Pedro looked delighted, and spoke in high terms of the English, and he was bound to do so. Colonel Bacon and his Lancers were all eagerness to have a dash, and we hoped to have seen them at work at the Miguelite cavalry, but they kept at too great a distance. The enemy took two of our batteries—the Antas, but soon had to give them up. North of the Congregados the City Volunteers managed admirably, and, assisted by a gun in position, succeeded in getting over some fields to the picket-houses of the enemy in that direction, and burnt them. There was some heavy firing in the N.W. At 5.30, when things looked quiet, Dom Pedro, in his uniform of Colonel of the 5th Caçadores,* and his staff moved leisurely into the city.

* Dom Pedro was generally in undress and cocked hat, point in front, as seen in the statue of him in Oporto, and on a strong small horse. He had a capital seat.

Our side took about 70 prisoners; one lot, consisting of thirteen, were brought up to Dom Pedro as he was riding home; they clamoured loudly as to their patriotic sentiments, swearing by all the saints that it had been their intention to come over at the first opportunity. Dom Pedro pulled up, gave them a most searching look, asking if they had fired on his soldiers. There was a pause, when one replied in the affirmative; in a moment Dom Pedro said, "Send them to the Casa Pia" (prison). He had been informed that a monk was amongst this party; this did not appear to be the case, at which he was much disappointed. Had a monk been discovered, it would have gone hard with him—he would probably have been shot. In the evening, from some of the wounded who were brought in, we learnt that the main object of this attack was to take or disable the Saldanha and Pasteleiro batteries, and even try to get possession of the castle of the Foz. They got well into our lines, and even into the tower of the Foz, but were driven back, their retreat being well covered by their cavalry and artillery. This affair, however, was a severe lesson for the Miguelites. Our loss in killed and wounded was great, about 330*, including 31 officers.

Of the Portuguese, the Minister of Marine, Bernardo de Sá was wounded; and the English had to deplore the loss of the brave Major Sadler. This was an attack on our lines from the Antas to the Foz.

I could not understand how it was that Dom Miguel, having so very many more men than Dom Pedro ever had, always four or five to one, did not take and keep at least the narrow track from his lines through

* Many of these were "secretly and silently" consigned to pits and trenches during the night.

Lordello to the river, or the similar strip of ground on which stood the Saldanha and Pasteleiro batteries; for by so doing the castle of the Foz must have been his. It was often a matter of surprise to me that we were not all swallowed up by the Miguelites, they being in such overwhelming numbers. At this juncture I supposed Dom Miguel's men had got dispirited, and that his officers were not fitted for the occasion. They could always keep up their physical strength, having plenty of provisions at command, whilst we were starving and of enfeebled frames—no beef, no man.

It was said there was treason in both camps; in that of ours I did not believe. There was much grumbling and difference of opinion amongst our generals as to the best way of attack and defence; but whenever the enemy commenced an attack, all hands were in an instant ready to go out and fight. When there was no fighting to be done, the folks occupied themselves with "la politica" and the state of famine and disease to which the city was reduced.

Official Account.

On the 24th the Miguelites made a feint on the right with 3000 men, and took the Liberal works at the Antas. Their main object was an attack on the left. Three columns came, one upon the Pinhal battery, defended by Colonel Torres with part of the 6th regiment, and was so vigorously repelled that the Miguelite officers could not get their men to re-attempt its capture. Another column went against the Pasteleiro, which was well received by great guns, congreve rockets, and musketry, and it had soon to beat a retreat.

Villa-Flor formed two columns to drive the enemy from the Antas; the 1st, composed of a part of the 9th and another of the 10th regiments, and a battalion of English under Major Brownson. This column was commanded by Schwalbach, who went out on the Vallongo road. He attacked the left of the enemy there, and cut off their communication with the left of the road. The other column, composed of the 1st battalion of English under Major Sadler, a detachment of the 3rd regiment, and another of

the 5th Caçadores under Silva Perreira, combined their movements with the first column, and attacked the enemy's right at the Antas.

Perreira commenced with rapidity, when the enemy abandoned, after a time, the position they had taken. However, one and the other disputed ground with great determination, and it was now that excellent man and good soldier, Major Sadler, was mortally wounded. Whilst this was going on Schwalback's column fiercely attacked and dislodged the enemy on the left, which retreated, like those on the right, to their entrenchments, when the Liberals re-established their pickets on the Antas. Three squadrons of cavalry now defiled, threatening Schwalbach's column, when 80 Lancers, commanded by Antonio de Mello, and 30 of the Guides, rapidly took up a position to oppose the enemy's horse, which now contented itself in forming and being the spectators of the retreat of their infantry.

Simultaneously the enemy had prolonged on their right their light infantry, when a picket of the Volunteers of Donna Maria, and another of the 10th, charged these to beyond the Casa Negra.

It was now nearly night, the Liberals remained masters of the redoubt of the Antas and other positions, and the enemy had retreated within their entrenchments. The Miguelite generals exerted their utmost in this attack, reposing much of their hopes on the fresh troops that had been sent from Lisbon, not doubting of a success they did not achieve.

There was a hopeful feeling in the city. The inhabitants armed themselves and rushed to the lines to take part in the defence; convalescents in the hospitals could not be restrained from sallying forth, some joining their battalions.

The Liberals lost in killed and wounded 325, 31 being officers. The Miguelites left dead on the Antas 186, and 65 prisoners were taken. They had about 1000 wounded in all. Their loss was great in front of the Pinhal and Pastcleiro, in consequence of having no reserve there to cover their retreat. The Minister of War, Freire, was in the thick of the fight, as also was the Minister of Marine, Sá Nogueira, who was wounded.

Whilst the fight was progressing, the batteries on the south threw shot, shells, and grenades into the city. No sooner was the call to arms sounded from the Clerigos than all left their work, armed, and ran to the lines. Some of these fell; their widows might be seen retiring from the trenches with the arms and other objects that had belonged to their brave and patriotic husbands, sobbing for their loss, repeating, "He is no more, he no longer wants my care, he died for the liberty of his country." Such conduct may be imitated, but cannot be excelled.

To make an account of the attack of the 24th complete, it must be stated that the enemy had advanced their pickets to within thirty yards of Shaw, at Lordello, and had occupied a house about a thousand yards off, and barricaded the street. Shaw says:*—General Saldanha told me to try and take the house. I did the thing completely, alarming the whole army of Dom Miguel. I formed the Rifle Volunteers at nine at night, secretly, behind a house about a hundred yards from the enemy. When all was ready I whistled through my fingers. The Riflemen rushed on with cheers to the barricade and took it. The Scotsmen then darted forwards, cheering. In a moment the whole horizon was inflamed from the musketry and the bright flame of our rockets. In this bustle the fire-party advanced, broke open the doors of the house with axes, and as soon as I saw the flames burst forth I whistled again as a signal to retire. I got Saldanha's thanks in the morning for the neat manner in which it was done.

There could be little doubt but this "regular spree," as Shaw calls it, brought on the attack of the 24th. Sir C. Shaw writes me that it was hard fighting at Lordello, while the English suffered at the Antas.

I left hospital on the 26th.

On taking my post at the picket at Lordello, long smouldering crimes (!) I had committed during my superintendence of the commissariat were angrily and untruthfully brought against me, which I indignantly repelled. When one of the party accused me of showing the "white feather" during the desperate defence of the 4th, to this I replied that I insisted on an immediate Court of Inquiry, and that if the charge was proved, my present

* Memoirs, ii., p. 245.

occupation of a soldier was gone. The following day the matter was gone fully into. The charge was that I had been seen *running* down a lane, so my vilifiers concluded that I was running away. My denial to this was supported by the picket I was in command of, who averred that, after firing all our ammunition, I volunteered to go, whilst shot were flying about pretty thickly, to our picket-house for a fresh barrel of cartridges, which I did, and *ran* again up the said lane to my comrades. The decision was—*honourably acquitted.* Colonel Shaw himself was a witness to my running down the lane, and when he heard the occasion of it, and the ill spirit that caused the inquiry, was the more my friend, and ever continued so.* I retained my rank as corporal.

Shortly after this various arrests took place in our corps, when the turbulent and unquiet spirits found it convenient to leave; after which we only numbered 28, 6 of whom were in hospital.

I had occasion to go to the city for pay and provisions, when I picked up the following: that Baron Nathan Rothschild was willing to lend Donna Maria a million of money or more on his own account, if he were allowed to

* When I left the Rifles for the Portuguese Artillery, Colonel Shaw gave me the following certificate:—

Lordello, 21st May, 1833.

I certify that Mr. Bollaert has served in the Dom Pedro's British Rifle Volunteers since their formation in November last. While under my command he was in action with me on the 4th March, and on that day, and during the whole period, he acted with credit to himself and benefit to the service.

(Signed) Charles Shaw,
Lieutenant-Colonel,
Scotch Fusiliers.

Sir C. Shaw, in August, 1868, told me several anecdotes of brave military men who had been falsely accused of "white-featherism," some of whom had great difficulty to prove to the contrary.

send 10,000 men to Portugal, which would shortly, according to his view, finish the war. So we gave the Israelite the credit of having most practical military, as well as financial, ideas. I also saw much of the active and energetic Señor Mendizabal, who had just arrived from England to see for himself our real position, to advise us as to future operations, and arrange the financial means of carrying them out. We heard that Dom Pedro's agents in France had just despatched about 600 recruits to Oporto; but the English capitalists who had primarily assisted Dom Pedro were getting tired of his being so long cooped up in the besieged city. Oporto continued to be bombarded, doing it every sort of damage. Thousands had been carried off by the war, starvation, fevers, and cholera, and it is a well-attested fact that at that moment *there was but one barrel of powder in the arsenal.* Dom Pedro himself was ill, and it was known that the loss sustained by his army on the 24th preyed very much on him. I often inquired as to the nature of his illness, but got no satisfactory reply.

Sartorius and the Fleet.—The mutiny of the unpaid and unfed fleet on the 24th January was a crime, in the eyes of the Government, and by not coming readily to assist Solignac's sortie increased it; so Dom Pedro treated Sartorius with marked coldness. The Admiral had taken his fleet back to Vigo for provisions and water. Repeated and pressing letters were sent to Oporto for some pay for the crews, which were not heeded. Sartorius, on the 10th March, wrote to Dom Pedro complaining how badly the fleet was treated, observing that "he held it in pawn, and would carry it off for the payment of his men." "If," he continues, "the ships' companies are not paid according to arrangements, to prevent the fate of the

'Eugénie' occurring to the other vessels" (she had been run away with), "I shall be obliged to quit your Majesty's service with the squadron. Sickness and privations of more than fourteen months certainly merit consideration. Should your Majesty wish to appoint another commander, I shall most willingly give up my command, as soon as I see all my officers and men satisfied."

It is more than probable that the receipt of this letter led Dom Pedro on the 13th to deprive Sartorius of his command, appointing Captain Crosbie ("Lord Cochrane's fighting Crosbie") to take charge meanwhile of the fleet, despatching Sir J. M. Doyle with a "Carta Regia" and instructions to bring Sartorius a prisoner to Oporto. Sir John, accompanied by Crosbie, his nephew Bentinck Doyle, and some Caçadores, repaired to Vigo on the 15th in a small vessel. He went on board the flag-ship, saying to Sartorius, "Admiral, you are my prisoner." The Admiral instantly arrested Sir John, and sent him below to be kept in confinement. Crosbie was put under arrest. The fleet shortly left Vigo, appeared off Oporto about the 25th, but was driven to sea for some days by bad weather. The general idea with us in Oporto was that Dom Pedro would have to rescind the order of the 13th inst. for Sartorius' dismissal. Sir John returned to Oporto in the 'London Merchant.' *

I now refer to Mr. Williams' notes :—

One morning a schooner was seen entering Vigo Bay. On her coming to anchor it was ascertained that Dom Pedro had commissioned Sir. J. M. Doyle to embark a company of the 5th Caçadores to proceed to Vigo, arrest the Admiral, and bring him a prisoner to Oporto. He

* Corrected, with additions, from *Annual Register*.

was also to convey a sum of money as an instalment of pay to the squadron.

Whilst Sir John was making his mission known to the Admiral on his own quarter-deck, the crew, with feverish haste to learn the meaning of the presence of the soldiers in brown uniforms, crowded along the waist, as far aft as the mainmast, and when the announcement was made, a broad grin was on each face as the Admiral replied by ordering Sir John to his cabin under arrest. Armed boats were sent to the schooner for the cash, and no time was lost in paying the crews, as far as it would go, which had the effect of infusing new life into them, and after a little liberty on shore the squadron was once more ready for sea.*

The author may observe that, in a military point of view the Pedroite fleet under the command of Sartorius was our real first line of defence, and maintained our communication by sea. After the drubbings he gave the Miguelite fleet on the 10th August and 11th October, 1832, it only came out of the Tagus in June, 1833, to be taken by Napier on the 5th July.

A French fleet appeared off the coast of Oporto, which gave rise to many surmises. It was bound for the Mediterranean. French troops arrived, and provisions and flour were landed.

* Badcock, p. 211.—After all his labour, and having prevented the blockade of the Douro, twice beaten off a superior fleet, having to contend with unpaid and mutinous sailors, and being badly provided in every way, he managed to keep the sea in most boisterous weather, frequently reduced to the greatest extremity for want of provisions, water, and clothing. The Admiral was no doubt ill-treated. He was expected to perform impossibilities. The fleet was then lying in Vigo. The Admiral refused to resign till his ships were paid their dues. The Emperor sent Sir J. M. Doyle to arrest the Admiral and bring him prisoner to Oporto. Sir John undertook this foolish commission; he was arrested by Sartorius.

The Miguelites were working by saps and a covered way towards the lighthouse at the Foz, and were establishing new works. Fowls, brought in from the Miguelite country, cost thirty shillings each.

Whilst in hospital I had been studying Portuguese, and the "Collegão dos Exercicios d'Artilheria," printed by order of Villa-Flor at Angra, 1829, and a good little work it was. I also had the opportunity of investigating the habits of no less than three species of hospital parasites —pediculi; one appeared to be peculiar to the hair of the head, another to the beard (for all those who could cultivate the hirsute appendage did so, *swearing* not to shave until Lisbon was attained by them; the Miguelites on the other side had *sworn* not to shave until the Pedroites had been annihilated), the third those that tormented the body, which, after luxuriating there, could be found in swarming colonies between the stitches of the shirt. I say nothing of other *inconveniences* of the hospital, excepting fleas, and they were outrageous. In Portugal, the hospital for the wounded in battle is called "Hospital de Sangue" (Hospital of Blood), which is most appropriate —in other words, human shambles.

Sir C. Shaw gives me the following:—

There was little good for sick and wounded in Oporto until I got assistance from England.

The killed were buried where they fell, except those who fell on the 29th September. I gathered about forty-five, dug a grave not far from Bomfim church, cut laurel branches, put them over their bodies, and read the funeral service.

Burrell and other officers were buried in the English cemetery. These had their clothes on; but on all fields of battle men are stripped, how and by whom has been my astonishment.

My men on the 29th were shamefully mutilated. The Portuguese and Spaniards are dreadfully cruel to each other, as all enemies are who speak about the same language. On the 25th July, 1833, I had personally to

defend the prisoners I took in the Flecha dos Mortos, from the 10th Regiment, when I was putting them in safety in the Pasteleiro battery.

Soldiers listen to the call of mercy from the sound working on their feelings, but if they understand the language in which mercy is asked, they answer, "D——n you, do you recollect what your fellows did to us on such and such a day?"

I am obliged to Sir C. Shaw for the following, sent to me in 1865:—

"Military Hospitals.

"Civilians are apt to suppose that hospitals are chiefly organised for those officers and soldiers who have been wounded in action by musketry. The late Colonel Leitch, of the Rifle Brigade, an experienced officer, showed that in the Peninsular War about 250,000 soldiers were put *hors de combat;* but of those not more than 40,000 were the victims of gun-shot. About 100,000 died from fevers and disease, while the remainder were discharged as being rendered incapable of further service in the field. From good authority, the Russian army on the banks of the Theiss and Danube for fourteen years generally consisted of about 200,000 men, and during the whole of that time 140,000 annually passed through the hospital, of whom about 10,000 died every year, and not one of these patients from gun-shot wounds. In the times of 'Good Brown Bess,' Colonel Schlimmbach, of the Prussian Artillery, an officer of great experience, whose statistical calculations extend over a long series of engagements during the wars of the First Napoleon, states the indisputable fact, that, on the average, a man's own weight in lead, and ten times his weight in iron, were consumed for each individual placed *hors de combat.* At Vittoria only one musket shot in 459 took effect. At the Cape of Good Hope one party fired 80,000 ball cartridges, and hit 25 Kaffirs, being just 3200 cartridges to one Kaffir. Indeed, General Gassendi calculates that 3000 cartridges are expended to every man disabled. General Decker, of the artillery, fixes the lowest limit at 10,000 cartridges for each man. In 1830, the French at Algiers, in fifteen days, fired three millions of cartridges, and with comparatively little slaughter. These details are given to show that disease, not gunpowder, is the great bane of an army. But the sufferings of the wounded by gun-shots in hospitals are heart-rending. How little do young men know of war and all its miseries! How apt a young man is to be led away, when he sees an officer at home without his arm, to say to himself, 'How I should wish to look like that officer!' He is ignorant of the starvation endured before going into action, the cold and bitter nights spent in drenched clothes in the wet

fields of the bivouac, the momentary forgetfulness of all misery in action, until the shoulder bone, by a shot, is splintered into bits; then the little sympathy felt, every one now being for himself; then the excruciating pain endured by the shaking of the bullock-waggon, or the want of care in carrying him away, the little bones coming through the skin, making him shriek with agony; then the long and weary time he must be on the cold floor, say of a church, until the surgeon comes to dress him in his regular turn; then the pain of amputation; and even when that is over, the necessity of shutting his ears to the sobbing prayers and screams of the dying, and his eyes to the corpses of those carried past him, who a few minutes before had suffered an operation similar to his own. This appears to the sufferer very shocking; but this is nothing compared to the disgust which he experiences in the dressings, washings, splinterings, bandagings, and cuttings out, which are the daily, nightly, hourly detail of military surgery. Of the foul air caused by so many confined in the same spot, and suffering the same inconvenience, some idea may be formed, but no description can be given. Worst of all, the patient is obliged to witness the deaths of many around him, who, almost before the breath is out of their bodies, are robbed, and have their effects distributed among the attendants, many of whom have volunteered this service to have the opportunity of plundering the dead and the dying. Often when a patient is thirsty, these attendants are either too hardened or too drunk to be able to give him drink, and very possibly offer the patient the nearest liquid at hand, probably something which was intended for a wash. Or while the expiring man is saying his prayers, a wretch is holding up his head with the one hand, while he is stealing the money of the dying man with the other. With some officers it may be better; but take away the romance, and let the truth appear, and who would eagerly embrace the military profession? A handsome young fellow is lying in a comfortable bed; he has a severe gun-shot wound in his leg—this you do not see; but come into the room when the surgeon is dressing the wound, and you are driven out by the insupportable stench. Alas! instead of taking an interest in, you have almost a feeling of disgust for, the sufferer.

"These details may give an idea how much the British army has been indebted to Miss Nightingale and the Sœurs de Charité."

Military and other books.—My library, scientific and literary, was scant, consisting of Beuchant's "Naval Gunner," 1818, Villa-Flor's "Artillery Practice," Shakespeare, Milton, Homer, Seneca, and Junius. What would I not have given for such an illustrated compilation as "Le Jeu

de la Guerre," (really the Art of War), published about 1715? It appears to have been on a sheet about three feet square, divided into some sixty partitions, numbered from 1 to 60. In each was represented the subject, with a few lines of observations, and was intended for the "Game of War."

Sir C. Shaw translated the observations, with considerable additions up to 1865, suggesting the modernizing of the illustrations. He intrusted it to me, but I could not find a publisher.*

I offer a list of the chapters, and give the first, which relates to "Officers."

Officers.
Promotions.
Medical department.
Recruits.
Equipment.
Uniform.
Pay.
Barracks, tents.
Drill.
Gymnastics, swimming.
Engineers.
Artillery, gunpowder.
Infantry.
Brown Bess, Enfield.
Cavalry.
Embarkation.
Railways.
Militia, Volunteers.
Parades, reviews.
Military terms.
General remarks.
Camps, bivouacs.
Hospitals.
March.
Advance, rear-guards.
Outposts, pickets, paroles.
Encampment, cantonment.
Entrenched camp.
Ditches, abattis, palisades.
March to attack and retreat.
Street fights, defiles, ambush.
Surprises, guerillas, partisans.
Defence, attack of bridges.
Passage of rivers.
Patroles, skirmishers.
Foraging parties.
Taking up a position.
Council of War.
Order of battle.
Reserves.
Battle.
Wounded in action.
Burial of dead.
Prisoners of war.
On parole.
General remarks.

* Colonel J. J. Graham in 1866 proposed to publish, by subscription, "The Soldier's Compendium." 1869, not issued.

Arsenals, defence of coast.
Concentration of fire.
Field-works.
Defence and retreat.
Contributions, marauders.
Court-martial.
Deserters, mutiny.
Provost-Martial.
Reconnoissances.
Night attack.
Detachments.
Convoy of stores and artillery.
Blockade.
Breaking of ground.
Siege.
Sortie of enemy, how repulsed.
Palisades, sand-bags, fascines.
Chevaux-de-frises, crow-toes.
Loop-holes, rifle-pits.
Traps for brave men.
Scarps and counterscarps.
Fergusson's System of Fortification.
General remarks.
Batteries.
Banquettes, glacis, esplanade.
Casemates, Place d'Armes.
Covered way, sally-ports.
Drawbridge, portcullis.
Sapping and mining.
Going into trenches.
Rockets, shell-guns.
Fire-balls.
Bombardment.
Forlorn hope and petard.
General attack.
Storm, escalade, rapine.
Citadel.
Flag of truce, surrender.
Peace.
Promotions, honours, decorations.

"Officers are gentlemen who are supposed to have some peculiar superior qualities for instructing and commanding those over whom they are placed. In Great Britain they are appointed for their birth, family connections, parliamentary influence, from the military academies, and by purchase; but as each candidate for the army must now undergo a strict examination as to his general education, the apparent evils of this system are in some measure counteracted. Unless an officer, besides being gentlemanlike in his manners and of good education, be able to show that he understands the details of his profession, he never can have proper influence over those he commands. . . . . In France all candidates must attend the Government military schools. They are subjected twice a year to competitive examination, and, according to their ability and proficiency, are appointed to the staff, engineers, artillery, infantry, and cavalry; but if they fail in their examinations for three years, they are then sent to serve in regiments as private soldiers; but they do not lose the right possessed by all French soldiers of offering themselves for examination to become officers as if they had attended the military schools. If there be three vacancies among the subalterns in a French regiment, two of these vacancies belong to the non-commissioned officers of that regiment, the Emperor having the right to appoint one from the military school.

Every French soldier may become a Marshal of France. In Prussia, during the time of Frederick the Great, no one could become an officer who was not nobly born. At present, five-sixths of the staff-officers of the Prussian army are nobles, three-fourths of the cavalry, and one-half of the infantry, but only one-sixth of the officers of the engineers are noble, and only one-fourth of officers of artillery are noble. No non-commissioned officer or soldier in the Prussian army can ever become an officer. The Prussian candidates have to undergo a very strict technical professional examination, those of greatest ability being appointed to engineers and artillery.

"In Austria military candidates are subjected to a very severe examination, especially those for engineers, artillery, and cavalry, but the officers of the staff of all ranks are appointed principally on account of their birth, or through Court influence; but since the late misfortunes this system has undergone many changes, and many non-commissioned officers in the Austrian army are appointed officers. Officers on the staff of the Continental armies must serve a certain time in the infantry, cavalry, and artillery—a system well worthy of being imitated in the British army.

"The French have been successful over the Germans owing to their superior system of promotion, rewards, and honours. A general in command is the moving power, the officers of the staff are the hinges of the machine, and the regimental officers are the interior springs.

"It is still a problem which is the best system for appointment of officers.

"Xenophon was a literary man at the Court of Persia, and forty years old. He took the command of the 10,000 Greeks and made the celebrated retreat, though followed by an overwhelming force led by the old and experienced officers of Persia. The German troops, led by the officers who had learnt the art of war during the Seven Years' War, were routed by the revolutionary officers of the French army, who had been educated as advocates, medical men, and bankers' clerks. Lord Lynedoch, one of the most celebrated British generals, did not enter the army till he was forty years of age."

CHAPTER XIII.

APRIL.

Provisions landed—Pay—Recollections of home—Door-signs—List and fate of the Rifles—Rations—Dom Pedro's critical position—Mr. Van Zeller sends powder from England—Donna Maria's fourteenth birthday—Desertions from the English—Miguelites pepper the Lighthouse and Foz—Colonel Sadler's funeral—Enemy erects battery on the Cobello—Expected attack—Great misery—Neither party will cede right to the throne—Fresh meat and double rations of wine—Secrecy! and taking of the Cobello works in seven and a half minutes!—Dom Pedro was proud of this operation—Attack on Lordello and vicinity—Promotions and decorations for 24th January, 4th and 24th March, to eighteen of the Rifles, three decorations of the Tower and Sword, (Bronze medal for the Campanhas da Liberdade, "1826 to 1834," instituted in 1864!)—Duke and Duchess of Oporto, the *second* title in Portugal—Firing at Dom Miguel—Desertion from Miguelites—Misery in their camp—Napier invited to supersede Sartorius—The height of misery in Oporto—Lisbon becoming Pedroite—Intrigues against Solignac—Author applies to enter Portuguese Artillery—Sartorius and fleet come off Oporto—City terribly bombarded—Cholera—Pedroite guerillas at Figueira—Enemy erecting stockades and more batteries—We ought to have been eaten up long ago—Sartorius and Fleet; Napier—Rows among the French—Solignac bewildered—Provisions off the bar—Saldanha very active—Death of Dom Pedro's second daughter—The Miguelite João Paulo (Cordeiro) great gun—Ammunition and provisions landed at last.

The commencement of the month of April saw provisions landed in small quantities, and money came from some source or other (probably brought by Mendizabal), for it was announced that the troops were to be paid regularly twice a month. Foreign officers' present pay was £2 8s. per month; soldiers 4d. a day, with short

rations of salt fish, biscuit, and wine. Many a time did I hear officers and men exclaim, "Oh for a beef-steak, a mealy potato, and a pint of porter in any of the slap-bangs in the back slums of London"—in which I perfectly coincided.

One day when taking pay to comrades who were in hospital, on my route I noticed, among others, the following street signs: on the door of a midwife a white cross was painted; on the door of a dentist, or rather tooth-drawer, hung a large model of a molar; and a barber had a polished antique brass platter-like basin, the Mambrino's helmet of Don Quixote.

The lines and batteries continued to be strengthened, especially about Lordello, which gave the Rifles in their turn the duty of protecting the exposed working parties.

In consequence of the troubled state of the Rifle corps, it was considered judicious to dissolve it, and we had orders to signify our intentions as to joining as cadets any of the foreign battalions. I selected, as a favour, to enter the Portuguese Artillery.

List of Cadet Rifles.

Captain Phaelan of the British Rifles (died of cholera in Oporto), Bentinck, W. Doyle acting Lieutenant (British Consul at Pernambuco, 1867), William Bollaert, Quartermaster.* Arcott, Bullock, Captain Brown (had been in Boli-

* After the Wars of Succession in Portugal and Spain were over, I went to Texas to examine land for English emigration, which land did not meet approval. I went a second time to South America. Later years were occupied with business pursuits in London. Leisure hours were filled up in writing memoirs for learned societies and periodicals, on the Geography, Antiquities, Anthropology, &c., of the New World; also in a work on South American Antiquities (Trübner, 1860); translation of Ursua's expedition on the Amazons (1560-1) for Hakluyt Society (1861). In 1860, having seriously ruptured my right lung, I became an invalid, when I commenced writing the "Wars of Succession of Portugal and Spain."

var's army, died in Oporto), Breary (surgeon), Baggot, Lieut. Cooper, two Chadwicks (served in Spain, one killed, the other severely wounded), Carpenter, Carew, Cooksley, Deacon, Davis, Ekin, Fitzpatrick, Glover (got commission in 59th), Hogg (lieutenant-colonel in Spain, wounded there), Heywood, Holmes, Jennings (captain in Spain), Kennedy, Linton* (Knight of the Tower and Sword, served in Spain, also under Sir C. Shaw when he was in charge of the police force at Manchester), Lumley, Lyster (major in Spain), Lacy (killed in Oporto 25th July, 1833), Maxwell, Moorsom, Mackie, Mills, Marshall, Phaelan, jun. (served and severely wounded in Spain, afterwards the author met him in Texas), Pogson, Orme, Russell (badly wounded, 25th July, 1833), Stanley, Sloane (K.T.S. for 29th September, 1832), Lieutenant Potter, Vogan, Watkins. There may have been three or four more in the corps for a short period.

The Rifles when first formed counted about 30, which increased to about 40. Some were killed in Oporto, others wounded, a few joined, as officers, the Scotch and the other British battalions.

The Rifles were first quartered in Rua Montebello, Campo Grande; then Nos. 5, 6, 7 Rua Conceção, near St. Ouvidio; then in the Carmelite Convent; but they were principally on picket duty at Lordello.

They had a very simple form for rations, stating how many were on duty, in quarters, and in hospital, for the total number of rations required.

From 13th November to 20th, 1832, we had fresh beef, bread, wine and spirits. Then salt beef to end of month. December, occasionally fresh beef, but the salt fish

* Linton, Mackie, and, I think, Hogg, had the third K.T.S., for the defence of 4th and 24th March, 1833.

(bacalhao) began; in January, 1833, occasionally no rations; rice instead of bread or biscuit; then half rice, half bread, no meat, little salt fish. As time went on quantities diminished; then a few pence instead of rations, but then there were no provisions to purchase; then no pay and no rations—soldiering and starvation.

I here give Sir Charles Shaw's opinion of the Rifles, embodied in a letter to the author in 1865 :—"What did I think of the Rifles? They were young, well-educated, and, with one or two exceptions, they were gentlemen. This was the reason why I, on the 3rd February, 1833, placed them at Pasteleiro, the most dangerous point—in fact from Lordello to that point *was the key of the position*. I have always looked upon three hundred intelligent men as equal to one thousand common soldiers, therefore I pointed out to Solignac, Saldanha, and others, that officers for the British troops should be chosen from among the Rifles; but my repeated applications for such were interfered with, particularly by Colonel Saavedra.* Of course the Rifles had faults, which, of course, *I did not choose to see*, because they were badly treated, deceived, and often starved. Even educated men will plunder when actuated by hunger."

"Jack in Oporto"—"We once or twice discovered a batch of young English riflemen planted behind casks at the Torre da Marca poppin' away at black pigs, bald-pated friars, and every crawling creature as comed afore the muzzles of their rifles."

By the breaking up of the Rifles my protegé, B——, who had been an old artillery officer, got occupation in the batteries at the Foz.

* "Shaw's Memoirs" i. 466. The foreigners "suffered more seriously out of fire" from Saavedra, than they did "in fire;" ii. 91, speaks of him as "cold-blooded."

3rd May.—Colonels Badcock and Sorrell waited on the Emperor and Solignac. The former says *—"For, as affairs were becoming every day more critical, we wished to be a little informed of their intentions. It had long been evident that Dom Pedro's army could not act on the offensive, and they did not seem able even to keep their defensive positions, but suffered their enemies to erect batteries wherever they pleased ; indeed I believe that the Miguelites might have placed one in the middle of the city without interruption. (?) The Marshal said, 'We have no powder,† and we are *acclimaté*—a battery more or less will not signify.' The Emperor declared that he expected large reinforcements and that he should await events.

"The press extolled the repulses into splendid victories gained by the Pedroites. That Dom Miguel had no army left—Dom Pedro only existed by the great military blunders and intrigues of opposing generals. Trade was ruined, thousands of people were starved to death or carried off by disease. Still the inhabitants did not complain (?) but said that Heaven punished them for their sins. Meat was from 2s. 6d. to 3s. per pound. Young

* Badcock, p. 199.

† Mr. F. Van Zeller, the Consul-general for Portugal in London, tells me the following :—At the beginning of the Siege his father heard we were short of powder in Oporto, so he went round among the ship-owners, and, after a vast amount of trouble, got a ship from one who already had a heavy stake in the success of the Liberals. Van Zeller loaded the vessel with about four hundred tons of powder, which was safely landed at Oporto. Now for the horror. *When the ship arrived there was only one barrel of powder in the magazine at Oporto.* Only fancy one having found out *that* secret a week before the ship arrived ; should we not have slept comfortably, without the least fear of the magazine destroying the town by an explosion!—E. S. Cowley's letter from Windsor Castle to the author, April, 1867.

girls, to save their families from starving, often sold their hair to a French hairdresser for a trifle."

The 4th was Donna Maria's fourteenth birthday. Those who had wine drank success, health, and happiness to her. That night a battalion of the enemy made a dash upon the Scotch quarters, but was soundly beaten back with considerable loss.

There had been desertion from the English regiments, mainly on the score of starvation. It would have been better had they invalided and "cleared out"—poor devils! I afterwards ascertained that they had not improved their situation.

There were Miguelites in the city who had been tampering with some of the foreign officers, and it was believed that a few had gone over to the enemy—commands, promotion, and good pay being the inducements.

At noon on the 5th, Good Friday, there was a beat to arms, and a general attack expected. The city was bombarded. Those of us former Rifles who were still at Lordello marched out. We could see tremendous firing from the enemy's castle of Castro and Quiejo on our left, and from some of their batteries on the other side of the river, directed at the Foz—the main object appearing to be the destruction of the light-house. Seeing that our post was in no danger, some of us got leave to go to the Foz, where my friend B—— was in his glory, firing shells out of an old carronade at some new works, in which were a 12 and a 6-pounder on the Cabedello point, opposite the Foz, distant some 600 yards. We at once helped him with our rifles at some Miguelite infantry, who were peppering him. The scrimmage being over, the Rifles went to the Luz lines, occupied by the Irish, who were digging a trench round the light-house. The officers insisted on our

stopping to mess with them, calling us "broths of boys" for coming down to the Foz in the hour of need.

On the following day I was one of a large number at Colonel Sadler's funeral. He was well-known to have been a good and brave soldier. He left a wife and large family to mourn his loss. Soldiers should not marry, as a rule. On this day Donna Maria's "anniversario" was partially celebrated. We had been promised fresh provisions on the occasion, and we certainly had six ounces of salt horse or mule served out; still it was a change from the eternal and scurvy-inducing salt-fish.

On the 5th the Miguelites threw up a battery on the Cobello hill, on the north, from which they could easily annoy the locality where Dom Pedro and his ministers lived, as well as Solignac and other principal officers. It was evident that, unless something was done, the city would become rather too hot to live in.

On the 8th, the whole garrison was under arms at daybreak, for deserters had given information that there was to be an attack. None took place, so there was time to have public rejoicings in honour of Donna Maria's birthday. Church bells rang, there were salutes from the batteries, and rockets flew about. There was high mass at the church of Our Lady of Lapa, after which Dom Pedro held a levée. In the evening there were attempts at illuminations, and transparencies exhibited, some with the portrait of Donna Maria. The Miguelites also joined in this celebration, but with shot and shell, when Colonel Shaw got a severe contusion from a ricochet cannon ball.

"Um Portuense" notes that, just before the taking of the Miguelite battery of Cobello, Oporto was at the crisis of its sufferings, when Providence came to the help of the

devoted city. At a time when the situation of the Liberals was at its most critical height in every respect, augmented by the continuance of the tempestuous winter, which so much impeded the disembarkation of provisions—when there was not a barrel of powder in the arsenal—when the materials for manufacturing it in the Quinta de Bello had all been used—when the enemy felt sure, under such appalling circumstances, the besieged would sue for peace, although they could not be conquered by force of arms—Providence, in its mercy, caused the tempests to abate, and the seas went down, so that about the middle of April the city began to receive the more necessary supplies.

In April,* the British naval authorities in the Douro facilitated personal interviews between the general officers of the contending parties, in the hope of their being able to bring about some amicable arrangement of differences, as both appeared to be tired of their nearly twelve months' warfare. These meetings ceased, for nothing could be effected, as neither would cede the disputed point, namely, the right to the throne.

I have to particularise the day of the 9th as being the first for a long period of our having half a pound of *fresh* meat and double rations of wine; also the night of this day. The enemy had erected a 5-gun battery on the Cobello hill, on the north, which bid fair, if not prevented in time, to do considerable harm to the upper part of the city. The attack * on it was kept a profound secret until the hour arrived. Ten minutes were given for the operation, and being very cleanly done, from the first shot fired to the *vivas* given as they took possession, seven

* "Civil War."

minutes and a half were spent. The next morning, the 10th, the enemy made a savage attempt to regain it; but during the night there had been thrown up a more concentrated work. The enemy was twice repulsed by Pacheco, with his 10th Regiment. He was one of the best officers in the service. Dom Pedro was as proud of it as it was evident the Miguelites were sore upon the subject; but, with all their exertions, they never again trod that ground.

At 10 a.m. the enemy commenced an attack on the lines to the left of Lordello; there were only eight of us Rifles on duty, but we crept in the direction of the fire, using our arms at all stragglers. Ensign Hogg, late of our company, took a Miguelite officer prisoner. At noon, the enemy drew off, but the Sampayo batteries on the other side of the river gave Lordello a severe pounding.

The Official Account.

The enemy's position of Covello, in which it had an almost finished intrenched battery, commanded the lines of the Liberals from Agua-ardente to the Serio. The heights were occupied by the 12th and 13th Infantry, 1st Battalion of Militia, and 1st of Royalist Volunteers, of the Miguelites.

On the evening of the 9th, a force of 600 men, under Pacheco, composed of the 12th Caçadores, 3rd, 9th, and 10th Infantry, divided into two columns, went out on the Serio road, Dom Pedro being present.

Pacheco advanced rapidly with part of a column to the left of Covello; the other part on the Casa de Nora, where there was a strong picket of the enemy. Part of the other column was also in active movement, whilst the other went on Monte Secca, the reserves marching on to the attack in front. Now there was a glorious surprise, for in a few minutes the enemy was dislodged, dispersed, and the Cobello belonged to the Liberals, a most important position. That same night it was entrenched and fortified by the victors, although the enemy did their best to retake it by advancing on Monte Secca, defended by the 3rd Regiment, which had been reinforced by some of the English.

At 4 a.m., on the 10th, picket-firing of the enemy had ceased; the

Liberals retired to their quarters, garrisoning the Covello and its vicinity with three companies of the 10th, a hundred of the 12th Caçadores, and the 9th Infantry. At 5 a.m., the enemy had augmented its force with their 7th, 19th, and 22nd Regiments, and attempted four times to retake the Covello, but were beaten back. At the same time other of the enemy's forces stationed at Parhanos, came out in the direction of Monte Secca, which was at once occupied by two companies of the English, who sustained that position, repelling a much larger force at the point of the bayonet, and taking twenty-seven prisoners.

Four reserve companies of the Regiment of the Queen were on the Agua-ardente road; one of these advanced to support the right of Covello; when the enemy appeared in force on the road of the Cruz da Regateira, this company charged them back to their entrenchments. At 7 a.m. the enemy opened fire on the whole of the Antas lines, which was promptly replied to. At 11 a.m. four of the enemy's columns advanced at quick march in the direction of the left upon Lordello, which was defended by the 15th Regiment, under Colonel Celestino, but they met with so warm a reception that they did not get farther than their picket lines. At 3 p.m. two columns of the enemy moved upon the right of the Antas, and when the order was given to their 8th Caçadores to charge, they did not obey, but retired into their lines. At 5 o'clock, another attack was made on the Covello, which was bravely repelled. The Miguelites must have lost on the night of the 9th and day of the 10th at least 600 men, independently of their very important post of Cobello. The loss of the Liberals was 178, including 19 officers. This same position, on the 29th of March, 1809, opened a pass for the French arms under Soult, when he took Oporto.

Sir C. Shaw informs the writer, "that he sustained at Lordello a very sharp attack, but the enemy was followed, and their advanced picket-houses burnt. There was a continued fire of musketry, shot, and shell, starvation, and no money for officers at Lordello, while English officers at Oporto were receiving table-money of three shillings a day."

On the 11th the *Chronica Constitucional do Porto Extraordinaria* appeared, being the order of the day No. 71, wherein Dom Pedro, Duke of Braganza, is spoken of as Commander-in-Chief of the Liberating Army, and Marshal

Solignac as Major-General. First, was a considerable list of promotions, amongst which was the brave Schwalbach,* to be brigadier-general, for his "gallantry on the 24th of March." Barrieros was made a major for his works on the lines from Lordello to La Luz. Fonseca, the Governor of the Foz,† was made a colonel of cavalry for his services in the actions of the 24th of January and 4th of March. There were promotions in the 3rd, 9th, 10th, 15th, and 18th Infantry; in the 2nd, 3rd, and 5th Caçadores, 12th Battalion; in the Engineers and Artillery. Of the Scotch Fusiliers, Major Shaw became lieutenant-colonel, Ensign E. Smith, lieutenant; and J. R. Russell (a volunteer) and Sergeant John Boyd, ensigns; the latter had much distinguished himself.

Then followed the names of those who had been decorated.

For the action of the 24th January, to be Knight of the Tower and Sword, Colonel du Vergier.

For the 24th January, 4th and 24th March, Commander of the Order of Aviz, Colonel José Pacheco. Also the order of the Tower and Sword to several officers, including Fonseca.

For the 24th March, the Order of Concepcion, Colonel Perreira; and the Tower and Sword to Captain Harley, of the 2nd English Regiment. Marechal do Campo,

* The staunch old Peninsular soldier, Schwalbach, was made a brigadier-general principally at Solignac's recommendation. He had been one of the early Liberals in Portugal. The author knew him in the service of Dom Pedro in the Brazils in 1830-1. He had fought bravely in the defence of Oporto, and was a great favourite. It was said that had the Liberals taken his advice when they first declared themselves in Oporto, and marched at once on Lisbon, the civil war might have been prevented.

† At the age of fifteen, he was aide to Sir R. Wilson. "His services may be traced through every campaign in which the Portuguese troops were engaged."

Brito Cabreira, to be Commander of the Tower and Sword.

To each company engaged in the actions of the 24th of January, 4th and 24th of March, one decoration of the Tower and Sword for each action they were in.

To the Battalion of Scotch Fusiliers, and the Company of Voluntarios de Dom Pedro (our Rifle Corps), three decorations of the Tower and Sword, for the valour each of those bodies had shown.*

As there were only eighteen of us rifles in the action of the 4th March, they proceeded to give votes for those considered most deserving. It is well to know that they fell to good and brave men, namely, Linton, Mackie,† and, I think, Hogg. We, however, thought that it would have been more satisfactory to have had the smallest medal suspended from the narrowest ribbon for each of our little band. What gave general satisfaction was the creation of General Torres Baron do Pico do Celeiro, the name of one of the Azores, for his most gallant services there and in Terceira; subsequently, for his daring defence of the Serra Convent, he was created Visconde da Serra do Pilar.

The title of Duke and Duchess of Oporto was now decreed by Dom Pedro as the second title in the kingdom.

More than thirty years after the war, a bronze medal was issued to the defenders of Oporto and the war gene-

* In the *Chronica*, of 5th August, 1832, are the details of reformation of the Order of the Tower and Sword—the Legion of Honour of Portugal. The State was annually to make an allowance—1. For the support of an asylum for the invalids and poor of the order. 2. A college for their children and orphans. 3. Pensions, &c.

† Mackie was killed in Spain, serving under General Shaw.

rally, called "The Medal of D. Pedro and Da. Maria." On one side it has the busts of Dom Pedro and his daughter, with the words "D. Pedro IV., Da. Maria II.;" on the other side, "Campanhas de Liberdade, 1826 to 1834." Same for officers and men. It is suspended from a blue ribbon, having a very narrow streak of white in the centre. They have clasps with the number (algarismo) of the years of service rendered, and the name of the recipient is published in the "Ordem do Exercito."*

The author heard casually of the existence of this medal in 1864; the Duke of Saldanha was then in London. His Excellency examined his certificates of service, copies of which, with a memorial to the King, were sent to Lisbon. The medal was forwarded at once, and received on the 4th March, 1865, on the thirty-second anniversary of one of the severe attacks on Lordello, in which he was engaged.

After the taking of the Covello battery by the Pedroites, Dom Miguel arrived to review his troops.† A lieutenant of artillery had laid his guns, and everything was prepared to fire the instant the waving plumes should pass the spot at calculated distance. At that moment Dom Pedro rode up to the battery, therefore, according to the Portuguese etiquette, the lieutenant dared not to fire his guns without asking leave. Upon doing so, Dom Pedro answered, "If my brother is there, no," and moved on. Those words saved Dom Miguel; for the officer at the head-quarters returned down the line, fired one gun, which killed a man near, and wounded a woman at a distance from Dom Miguel.

During the battle of Waterloo, an artillery officer rode

* There is another medal of gold for "Merito Militar."

† "Civil War," p. 198.

up to the Duke of Wellington, and said, "Your Grace, I have a distinct view of Napoleon, attended by his staff. My guns are well pointed in that direction, shall I open fire?" The Duke replied, "Certainly not, I will not allow it. It is not the business of commanders to fire upon each other." However, one of his axioms is, "I cannot discover the policy of not hitting one's enemy as hard as one can, and in the most vulnerable place."—"Despatches," vol. xi., p. 547.

This review of Dom Miguel's, as was expected, renovated the vigour of the Miguelite army; their shouts whilst it took place were astounding, and such as never before had been heard by the besieged. The royal visit was necessary to keep the army together. Amongst their troops of the line considerable discontent had appeared, and the desertions from the militia to their homes had been increasing. The out-post duty was chiefly performed by volunteers, as a watchful safeguard to prevent many joining the Pedroites.

On the left bank of the Douro, the subordination of their army had been destroyed. An order from an officer, of whatever rank, checking the devastations or disorders, was answered by an accusation of disaffection to the cause of Dom Miguel; and such was the general tendency to suspicion, that the proudest chief dared not incur the slightest charge of that nature from the vilest individual.

Nothing could be more horrible than the information, received from that part of the Miguelite army, of the wretched position of the sick and wounded; without a sufficient number of surgeons, they were in a state of destitution perfectly Hottentot. After their attacks, the very severely wounded had, in more than one case, been

removed in the carts of the already dead. This may appear exaggerated; it was but too well authenticated afterwards. "He is dying, yet bring him," "No, he is dead, take him there," were the fiats of the unpitying peasantry, forced to the irksome and dangerous work of clearing the field of battle, inwardly cursing those they were sent to succour.

Napier had been spoken to as to his taking command of the Pedroite fleet, which he would not do without the sanction of Sartorius. Napier says,* "The ministers were ungrateful and mad enough to deprive Sartorius of the command of the squadron, and under date 13th March, Captain Crosbie† was appointed to succeed him. The only error Sartorius committed was not proceeding immediately to Oporto, and insisting that Freire, Carvalho, and C. Xavier should be dismissed."

Now it was that a few Pedroite officers, English as well as Portuguese, met with Miguelite officers at dinner on board the British men-of-war in the river. They did their best to pump one another, also to deceive; ours spoke very decidedly of soon being in Lisbon, the others that the thing was impossible.

We were in the middle of April, and when the sufferings of the inhabitants of Oporto were at their greatest height. The inhabitants were daily dying by scores of famine and disease. A very little loaf of bread, seldom to be had,

* His account of the war.

† Crosbie was with his celebrated commander, Cochrane, in South America, the Brazils, and Greece. In one of Cochrane's most daring and brilliant actions—the cutting out of the Spanish man-of-war 'Esmeralda' from Callao Bay—Crosbie led one division of the boats, Guise the other.

The writer had often the pleasure of having long talks with Captain Crosbie upon his South-American doings; he has also to record here his thanks for very many substantial kindnesses during the siege of Oporto.

cost eighteenpence. Provisions were so scarce that to us volunteers the sum of seven vintems (about sevenpence-halfpenny) was issued in lieu of daily rations.

I had a billet in a small abandoned house in the Rua de Picaria. After my boy José and self had had our meal, some of his family would come and see if a few crumbs of black biscuit had been left. More than once I shared a very scanty meal with a poor family, my neighbours, who were often perishing of hunger—a biscuit, a small piece of salt fish, a little rice, and a little wine were godsends to them. For myself, when I could get any oil, or fat, or grease, on went the frying-pan, and, when hot, a biscuit that had been steeped in water was fried, which was rather a treat; salt and pepper were scarce, so I had not often deviled biscuit. Those were hard times indeed.

There was considerable desertion from Dom Miguel's lines, also much division in his councils. One day seventy soldiers came by sea from Lisbon, informing us that things were getting ripe there for a revolt against Dom Miguel.

In my journal I have merely the following entry, at this period, in regard to General Solignac:—"Solignac is losing his reputation, and it is publicly said that if Saldanha had the command our military affairs would go on better."

Colonel Badcock* throws some light on this period. He says:—"Solignac was not exempted from intrigues. An attempt was made of a serious nature, which in its results might have involved a very murderous scene. The commissioners of the parish districts were told by authority to collect companies, and to go in front of the palace,

* "Civil War," p. 197.

shouting out 'Death to Solignac.' They desired to receive written instructions, which having been refused, this absurd plot was discovered, and measures taken to pacify Solignac. Had the affair broken out, perhaps with no other view than to get rid of Solignac, then too near Dom Pedro, Colonel du Vergier, the friend of Solignac, and chief of his staff, and who was beloved by the Portuguese as well as the French soldiers, would have created an awful moment in Oporto."

I now took a letter of recommendation from Colonel Shaw to Senhor Da Cunha, as to my entering the Portuguese artillery as a cadet. Da Cunha drew up a memorial for me to Dom Pedro, requesting to join the First Battalion, which I delivered to General Valdez. I now commenced a plan of Oporto, its lines, and the positions of the batteries, for my own instruction.

Some provisions and bullocks were occasionally landed at the Foz, but under the greatest difficulties, or we must have died of starvation.

On the 18th, Sartorius, with the squadron, came off the Douro. At three in the morning a dashing affair was performed by Lieutenant Salter, who towed the 'Liberal' man-of-war, of 22 guns, safely out to sea, having run the gauntlet of the enemy's batteries by going down the river in the very teeth of them. Her commander, Soares, gave the enemy gun for gun, as he crossed the bar. One of our late Rifles, who had volunteered to go with Salter, was shot—only one of the crew was wounded. Salter volunteered to take another vessel out the same day, and would have done so had he been permitted.

Three hundred French troops arrived, well clothed and armed. The weather was improving.

During the night of the 21st, the Miguelites must have

thrown 300 shells, besides tons of shot, into the city, causing a horrid and hissing din.

I was offered a good billet in the city at San Bento, which I did not accept, it being in the vicinity of three hospitals, one for the cholera patients, another for fevers, and the other for incurable and contagious diseases! I visited the first-named, and saw several dying of this new and fatal visitation, which terrible plague had been spreading rapidly amongst us.

We now heard that there were movements in Lisbon favourable to Donna Maria, and that Pedroite guerillas were active at Figueira, near the mouth of the Mondego. Desertions from the enemy were becoming important. The Miguelites were erecting stockades north of the Pasteleiro, preparatory to the erection of more batteries. Our side was not inactive in the same sort of work. The lighthouse at the Foz was now nearly knocked to pieces. We supposed the enemy had 25,000 men on the north side of the river, and from 7000 to 8000 on the south; by these 32,000 or 33,000 men we ought to have been eaten up at any moment.

"I am glad to hear that people in authority are behaving rather more rationally to Sartorius. I wish he had a little more of the devil in him." This is how the observation stands in my journal. I will here offer a few remarks regarding Admiral Sartorius.

When Palmella, Mendizabal, and others were acting under a Regency in Donna Maria's name in London, their first operation was to scrape funds together; then there were two other very important things to be done: one was to organise a navy, the other to invite volunteers. It was no easy affair to get a British naval officer as Admiral. At last, Captain Sartorius, R.N., accepted the

command of a small fleet he got together, which rendezvoused at Belle Isle, and conveyed Dom Pedro and his followers to the Azores. Dom Pedro now prepared for the invasion of Portugal.

I will now refer to Shaw's "Memoirs:"—"Coolness, unfortunately, arose between Dom Pedro and Sartorius about a toast which the latter proposed at a party when in the Islands, at which the Emperor was present. Sartorius gave 'The empire of women.' The Emperor, to the astonishment of all, looked sulky, expressed himself displeased, and refused to drink the toast. I have sometimes suspected that there must have been some truth in the report that, though Dom Pedro went out as Regent to Portugal, he intended to re-assume the crown in place of his daughter, and he might have construed Sartorius' 'empire of women' into a very broad hint to give up such an idea."

It seems there was some truth in the "suspected" expression of Shaw's, and from what I subsequently gathered myself during the early portion of the defence of Oporto, there were in Dom Pedro's surrounding, and amongst those who were in his most intimate confidence, persons who sympathised with him in that idea. It was also asserted in Oporto, that Palmella and some others did not admire this view of Dom Pedro's, and waited their time (say the taking of Lisbon) to come out clearly on the point, for "Donna Maria and the Constitution." But there were others, at the head of whom was General Saldanha, who openly avowed their adherence to Donna Maria II., and a rational form of government for Portugal, which meant also the exclusion of Dom Pedro from the crown. It must be recollected that Saldanha, when governor of Oporto, in 1826-7, the moment he got hold of the "Constitution"

offered to Portugal by Dom Pedro, with Donna Maria II. as Queen, boldly proclaimed it, which was the serious blow to the absoluto party, including the old Queen, who were camarilla advisers of the Regency in Lisbon. In fact, this energetic act of Saldanha's was a pretty good quantity of the thin end of the wedge driven into the rotten trunk of the tree of the very old-fashioned and worn-out despotic monarchy in Portugal. Sartorius and the foreign officers generally considered themselves something more than mere mercenary volunteers. They were men of liberal political feelings, and the banner of the Constitution and Donna Maria II. had some charm for them; so that when it came to their knowledge that if they succeeded in driving Dom Miguel out of Portugal, that Dom Pedro was to be the monarch instead of Donna Maria, for whom they had drawn their swords, like true and honest men, they resented such a finale to their efforts.

Palmella (who was a friend to the foreigners) must have had a difficult card to play with Dom Pedro; but he did it, and his efforts were crowned with success.

Sartorius had one of the most awkward positions possible to manage. His ships were called men-of-war, but it was the courage and fight in the bone and sinew of his British officers and men that kept Dom Miguel's navy from annoying or blockading Oporto during the lengthened siege of that city. His men were but little cared for by the Government, and ill-paid; as a matter of course, they became discontented, and at times almost unmanageable. It was the affection they bore the amiable, kind-hearted, and honest Sartorius that prevented them, more than once, from sailing away with the fleet from the shores

of Portugal, say to England, and washing their hands of the war.

Sartorius, when passing some of the winter period at Vigo, applied as blandly as possible to the treasury of Oporto. "You must wait a little while longer," was the general reply. Sartorius doubtless informed Dom Pedro that if the "amanhaa" (to-morrow) system was prolonged, there would be a mutiny, and the sailors would take the ships away, which would have been a very serious affair.

It is thought that about this time Dom Pedro saw pretty clearly that he must at once give unmistakable signs that his banner was that of Donna Maria II., and that whatever pretensions he might have dreamed of becoming King of Portugal must be laid aside. This being done, Palmella and his friends went to work with confidence; Saldanha, who was then in Paris, came out, and some money found its way to Oporto, principally from London.

"Um Portuense" observes:—Repeated orders were sent by Dom Pedro's Government to Sartorius, then at Vigo, for him to go with the fleet before Lisbon, which he did not comply with. In consequence of the "desintilligencia"* (misunderstanding) between Sartorius and the Government, H.I. Majesty accepted his resignation, and appointed in his place Charles Ponza (Napier).

Napier says:—"Freire, Carvalho, and Candido Xavier behaved badly to Sartorius. Had the Emperor no power? or did he tolerate such low conduct to so good a man?"

Napier† thus writes for end of April:—The fleet for want of pay, &c., was in a very bad state. Lima and

* "Um Portuense" should have given some little explanation of this "desintilligencia."

† "Account of the War."

Mendizabal begged of me to concert measures to save the Queen's cause. I made proposals to Dom Pedro's Government, but got no answers. . . . Still I consented to assist, if Palmella and Mendizabal went with me. Money was required, when Senhor da Silva (Baron Lagos) was the first to engage his father-in-law, Mr. Pratt, Mr. Humphreys, Mr. Wright, Mr. Easthope, and Mr. Pitta to advance the necessary sum of money, on condition that the troops I took with me did not land at Oporto. Mr. Pratt had already lent the Queen £25,000, which was the salvation of the Terceira Regency.

The dissensions in the squadron had not subsided. Captain Mins has published one account—Captain Boyd has replied to it. Captain Rose was brought to a court-martial on various charges and acquitted. The discretion of the Admiral may be here questioned. If the Admiral was dissatisfied with his officers, and of opinion they were plotting mischief and intriguing against him, they ought to have been superseded—or one might have been selected and punished without the ceremony of a court-martial. Had the Admiral been supported by his officers as he ought to have been, whatever was the cause of complaint, this mutiny would not have taken place.

I now refer to Mr. Williams's MS. notes :—

In the autumn of 1831 two ships were purchased, one formerly an old teak store-ship, the 'Sir Francis Drake,' narrow, wall-sided, and slow, with scarcely room for the recoil of guns ; she was called 'Donna Maria II.;' the other, the 'Congress,' supposed to have been an old Swedish frigate, oak-built, named the 'Rainha de Portugal.' They were fitted for sea in the City Canal, as merchantmen, and sailed in ballast for Belle Isle.

I was engaged by Admiral Sartorius (who lived in King Street, St. James's). In December I embarked in a steamer, the 'Sir Joseph Banks,' with a large detachment of officers and men, under Captain Blackiston, and on the 5th January, 1832, joined the 'Donna Maria II.' at Belle Isle.

Our English crews having received an advance of wages, were in a

drunken, quarrelsome state, and a period of wretchedness prevailed. One fine specimen of a tar staggered to the quarter-deck the first day of hoisting Donna Maria's blue and white ensign, and addressing Captain Mins, said: "Look here, sir—hic! that 'ere ain't the British flag, and I don't mean to fight under no other." The captain, making allowance for the occasion, smilingly told him to go to the ship's painter, and give him an order to paint the British ensign on his tarpaulin hat, which would enable him to keep his word. The man was satisfied.

The ship 'Tyrian' arrived with guns and stores, the 'Donna Maria' receiving forty-two medium 18-pounders, the 'Rainha' forty-six of the same calibre.

The British Articles of War were adopted, and read to the crews. The 'Edward' transport arrived with a batch of Englishmen, raised at home as settlers, a pretext for getting them from England unmolested.

Arrived at Terceira, the "settlers" were landed, and turned into troops.

The squadron weighed the 10th February, 1832, and sailed for the Western Islands, with Dom Pedro. The 'Villa-Flor,' eighteen guns, Portuguese crew, joined the squadron, and after visiting St. Michael's and other islands, it was arranged that the Admiral should go in the 'Donna Maria' to Madeira, to endeavour to negotiate with the governor for its surrender, and appropriate its revenues. The governor replied that he would have nothing to say to Sartorius, "except at the point of the bayonet."

On nearing the islands, chase was made after a brig under Miguelite colours—she proved to be a shaky craft laden with bones. Just before going to Madeira it was reported that the Miguelite 28-gun corvette 'Sybelle' was expected there. This vessel had been collecting much church plate and other treasure to take to Lisbon. One morning a sail was seen: it was a corvette. The Admiral had the blue-and-white ensign run up at the peak; the ship being before the wind, it was not seen. But the Vice-Admiral's flag was soon up at the fore. It was the 'Sybelle.' In an instant she was off before the wind—away she flew like a frightened bird. The 'Donna Maria' was yawed to bring a bow gun to bear; a shot fired went even beyond her; this repeated caused us to lose ground. Studding-sails were crowded on our old ship, various trims tried, guns aft and guns forward, swinging weights to stays, hammocks piped down, placing two or three shot in each, &c., &c. Now the breeze freshens, the 'Sybelle's' studding-sail booms are carried away! Our officers with sextants in hand, report we are rising her fast; but the little fugitive is smart aloft, shifts her damaged booms, and quickly the sails are upon her, and again she begins to draw away.

Night comes on—still she is near enough to be seen. And thus the chase goes on for three days and nights, now gaining when the wind freshens, then losing when it falls light. At last it was supposed she had

thrown her guns overboard to lighten her, when on the third night we lost her in the haze and obscurity caused by a clouded moon. We shaped our course once more for Madeira, whilst the 'Sybelle' got safely to Vigo with her treasure, leaving the crew of the 'Donna Maria' to growl like bears with sore heads at the loss of so valuable a prize.

In consequence of the tardiness of H.M.S. 'Magician,' in showing her colours one morning, she was very nearly getting a broadside from the 'Donna Maria.' The order of fire was given, as soon as the guns would bear.

The troops having been organised and transports assembled, of all sorts and sizes, probably 100 in all, we made sail for Oporto, the Emperor Dom Pedro going in an armed merchant vessel, the 'Juno' (Amelié). The troops landed a little to the north of Oporto, the 8th July, on a sandy beach, upon which Donna Maria's colours were planted by Captain Rosenberg, under cover of the frigates, a few shots having been fired to clear a wood of some horsemen seen there.

The army being landed, a large warlike vessel was seen off Oporto roads at anchor. All boats were sent at night to cut her out. I (A. Williams) had charge of the first cutter, and with muffled oars rowed in silence to the vessel, and dashed alongside. She was a large ship from Brazil. I was left in charge with my men, under command of Mr. Fitz-Costa. Oporto being taken, the prize was sent into the Douro. I returned to my ship.

I can give no explanation why Dom Miguel did not send forth his overpowering fleet to annihilate our straggling convoy of transports during the long passage from the Azores to Oporto. His force, having the heels of our squadron, might have done this work with comparative impunity. Then how could the disembarkation of the troops have been effected in the presence of the 'Dom John,' 74, and the other vessels. Having neglected this second opportunity, it is clear he had lost his *best chance* for securing easy victory, which was never destined to be offered again.

There were great rows among the French troops, and several of their officers were placed under arrest. Solignac, I was persuaded, would have been glad to have been back in Paris; the old marshal was no match for the manœuvring here. The position of Oporto was militarily and politically critical, still I did not believe in treason; but what had I, a soldier, to do with politics? Let the soldier mind his own slaughtering business—stand up and be shot at for glory and a few vintems a day!

There were now many vessels, mainly English, off the bar with provisions; but as the weather was stormy with heavy seas, transhipping and landing was attended with great danger. The most serious occurrence which took place was on the night of the 25th. A very large launch, with a crew of thirteen men, had taken in its cargo, consisting of thirty bullocks and thirty barrels of flour, when it was capsized and all lost.

General Saldanha was very active day and night in the lines, particularly in those on the left. One evening about tattoo, the Scotch, some Caçadores, and a few of the Rifles, drew up along the Foz road to receive Saldanha; he looked well, was in cheerful spirits, and spoke like an old comrade to many who were there.

On the 26th Dom Pedro received news from Brazil of the death of his second daughter.

The Miguelite batteries, one especially, the Cobadello, at the mouth of the river, were very troublesome to boats and launches going out for, and coming in with, provisions; so the Foz Castle had generally brisk night work on its hands to protect the landing; it was reported that many boatmen had been killed.

The 29th was the anniversary of Dom Pedro giving the Constitution to Portugal. It was a gala night at the theatre, but the royal box was empty in consequence of the recent intelligence Dom Pedro had received of the death of a daughter.

We had again information of Pedroite guerillas mustering at Lavago, on the Mondego; and there was a talk of sending 2000 men by sea to assist them.

Towards the end of the month, I went to General Valdez, complaining that I had not received my appointment to join the Portuguese Artillery. I got for answer, "that it

was against their laws to admit foreigners into the regular army." I posted off to my friend Senhor da Cunha, who went immediately to Valdez, giving him some good advice as to my wishes, which he took kindly, and said he would reconsider the matter.

The redoubt at the top of the Gaia hill was finished for seven guns, and a battery behind for five mortars.* Afterwards the great gun João Paolo (Cordeiro) was placed there, which was of a new construction, and could discharge shot of 80-lbs. (granite shot or grenades) point-blank, and was to be the terror of the city.

26th.—Some powder, shot and shell, and provisions landed at last; still 5000 rations of soup were distributed to the poor daily.

29th.—A beso-manos (kiss hands), or court, was held in honour of the Constitution. The 'Etna,' Captain Belcher, having finished a survey of the river, left for the Mediterranean.

* "Badcock," p. 236.

CHAPTER XIV.

MAY.

Sartorius reinstated—Dom Pedro and Solignac review the garrison—English officers quarrel; duels, &c.—Cholera in Miguelite camp—Beef cheaper, 1s. 6d. per lb.—Cats and dogs long since thinned off, particularly by the French—Misery continues—Our Captain of the Rifles dies of cholera—Want in Miguelite camp—Attempts at dynastic arrangements fail—Solignac examines defences—Military executions—Oporto "a sink of vice and low intrigue"—Shaw's "lark"—Col. W. H. Rochfort leaves—French landed—Nuns killed—Severe bombardment—"João Paulo" gun—Author joins Portuguese Artillery—Dom Miguel invites foreigners to desert; no go—He has some 60,000 men around Oporto—Pedroite forces, say, 8000 fighting men—Author detailed to Saldanha battery; description of—Studies rocket practice—Friends in need—Solignac complains—Provisions and powder landed—Heavy bombardments—Portuguese frauds—Pedroite lady-spy.

MAY 1.—Sartorius reinstated in his command.

May 4th.—Dom Pedro, Solignac, and staff reviewed the garrison in detail, 8000 in all in the city and in the lines, which indicated that business was on hand. Dom Pedro looked thoughtful.

The officers of the English regiments were terribly at loggerheads; duels and resignations were expected, consequently there would be promotions for the more orderly. There were many arrests.

"An extraordinary scene* took place in the presence of Sir Thomas Stubbs, commanding the English in Oporto. Major Williams ordered the battalion to 'shoulder arms,'

* Shaw's "Memoirs," ii. p. 39.

Major Brownson ordered them to 'order arms,' so that one part was at the 'shoulder,' the other at the 'order.' Colonel Williams comes on parade, and gives the command to 'shoulder,' but Major Brownson orders them to 'stand fast.' This ended by Brownson being removed. He afterwards entered the service of Dom Miguel."

Although the enemy had not forgotten to give the city shell and shot, some of the families ventured on receiving visitors.

Miguelite deserters came from Lisbon.

There was a Spanish female spy, who now brought us the information that the cholera was bad in the Miguelite camp.

Some little beef in the city, but it was eighteenpence a pound. With fourpence a day and no rations such a luxury was out of the question, so it was a case of look and long. The dogs and cats had been thinned off long since. The French would give chase to either cat or dog, and put a bullet through their heads, bagging the prey as if it had been choice game. Mr. Geo. W. S——, of Oporto, with whom I became acquainted in 1864, informed me that even some of the foreign merchants had to make a meal off horse-flesh.*

* During the siege of Florence, in which Michael Angelo turned soldier, carcases of mice sold for five shillings each.

Siege of Gibraltar, 1789 to 1783—Provisions at times became very dear, partly through the avarice of the inhabitants, which so enraged the soldiers, that in one instance they roasted a pig by a fire made of cinnamon. A round of beef, sold at auction, fetched 4s. per lb.; a bullock's heart, 9s. 4d.; onions, 2s. 4d. per lb.; bullock's head, with tongue, £1 1s.; a turkey, £2 6s. 10d.; sugar, by auction, 16s. 6d. per lb.; tea, £1 8s. 6d. per lb.; an egg, 8d.; bread, 1s. 6½d. per lb.; rum, 4s. per bottle.

During the late war in the United States, at Richmond, in Virginia, the capital of the Confederates, meal was often at £30 per bushel, and a party thought himself lucky to get a bushel of potatoes for £15.

Misery and disease were now at their very greatest height, so much so that we did not talk about our deplorable and starving position. Our commander of the Rifles, Captain Phaelan, died of cholera. If we were in such circumstances, we had reliable information that Dom Miguel's army was in anything but a satisfactory state, seeing that they could make no impression of importance upon Oporto. We were, however, surprised to hear that the Miguelite camp was in want of provisions, and that disease, especially camp fever and cholera, had broken out.

Our pickets "on the wall" by the river, and the Miguelite ones on the other side, amused themselves by calling each other hard names — theirs screamed out, "Negros and Pedreiros-libres (Freemasons);" ours "Devils, slaves, and absolutists," and then they would have a ping-pang at each other.

More deserters came to us from Lisbon.

Weather fine; there were flower-beds in some of the batteries, even among the fascines and sand-bags.

7th.—Colonels Badcock and Sorrell went on board H.B.M. ship 'Nautilus,' Lord George Paulet, to meet the Miguelite general, Conde Torrebello, to see if any arrangement could be come to. Colonel Badcock and General Saldanha dined on board the 'Nautilus' the same day.

I one day doffed uniform (not to be shot at), being invited to dine on board the 'Rowchester,' Captain Swainton, in the port-wine trade; he gave me a famous meal, which was duly appreciated. The vessel was within twenty yards of the Miguelite side of the river; near to it were H.M. ships 'Orestes,' Captain Glascock; the 'Echo,' Commander Otway; and the 'Nautilus,' looking on, and doing their best to see fair play. The circum-

stance of the British men-of-war being here was of great service to the Pedroite cause.

On the 8th, Solignac examined with much attention the Lordello lines. The Scotch and the few Rifles were drawn up in the road to receive him. He expressed a wish that there had been 500 of the Scotch; and seeing the Rifles in so tattered a condition, called me out, telling me that he would see that we had fresh clothing, to which I replied, "Merci, mon General." A number of vessels, with provisions, off the coast.

I went on the 11th to Campo S. Ouvidio to witness the execution of three soldiers: one was a Frenchman, for the murder of a comrade; the other two were Portuguese, for desertion. They looked nearly dead before they were shot, and ere they got to the ground their power of speech had failed them. From what we could learn, Dom Pedro was only induced, under the most pressing circumstances, to allow an execution of any sort.

Under date May 11, 1833, Colonel Shaw* wrote to Colonel Hodges, who was then in London, by which it will be seen he did not think lightly of us Rifles.

"The affair (Napier's expedition) is to me quite indifferent. I like the *lark*, provided it can be done with honour, or rather without loss of honour, as Oporto is such a sink of vice and low intrigue that I would dare anything to get out of it; but I must not, and will not abandon the cause. Of Scotchmen, I would have every one in Oporto. Of volunteer gentlemen (the Rifles) thirty, if permission were obtained for me—there is the difficulty."

What this "lark" was I did not know, but Shaw was just the man to do a daring job, and do it well. He was quite

* "Memoirs," ii., p. 250.

right; he had the confidence of the best soldiers in Oporto. I wrote to Sir Charles Shaw in 1865; his answer was as follows :—

"The lark was this. The English Portuguese in London were much displeased with the Oporto business. They knew that when Terceira (Villa-Flor) and others saw, at the end of February, that Lordello in communication with the Foz might be any day cut off, that they were proposing to surrender; I was very much excited, and spoke strongly, and said I must not be included, that I was ready with the Scotch and volunteer gentlemen (the Rifles) to fight our way through to Spain. This letter of mine was shown, and the expedition of Napier was planned, and in passing Oporto he was to take what men with him could be spared. Not a soul, except Saldanha, was made aware of this, which was arranged on board the 'Nautilus.'"

I have mentioned I made the voyage from Falmouth to Oporto with Colonel Rochfort. He was still a very handsome man, and of polished and engaging manners. In early days he had served as an artillery officer in India. He had been by the side of Jacques Lafitte during the "three days" in Paris, and felt that his services had not been sufficiently considered. He came to Portugal strongly recommended by Palmella (who was then in Paris) to Dom Pedro, and placed in command of a company of horse-artillery, which he got into beautiful order. His turn-out was a picture, and when he was on duty in full uniform, and mounted on his splendid black charger, we called him "our Murat."

For some six months Rochfort held his commission as lieutenant-colonel, and had occasionally shown the Portuguese how he could handle guns.

Whether the Portuguese artillery officers were jealous

of him, or that he did not consider the service satisfactory, he resigned on the 12th of May, and left.

12th.—One hundred and fifty French landed. We got some flour ashore. At night a shell fell into the church of Santa Clara, killing and wounding several nuns, who were at prayers.

13th.—Much provision disembarked at night.

14th.—The Gaia-hill battery opened fire at 3 a.m. They threw 150 grenades in three hours, whereby a number of women and children in particular suffered. The enemy also fired the city in the north.

At half-past four in the morning of the 16th, the enemy commenced the fiercest bombardment we had been treated to, of shot, shell, and rockets. Later, when on my way from Lordello to the city, with a pressing letter in my favour to join the Portuguese Artillery from Colonel Shaw to Duvergier, the chief of the staff, I saw a poor woman killed by a shot. There were other fatal affairs on this day. Duvergier gave me a strong letter of recommendation to General Lopez, the commandant of artillery, as to my appointment, which he agreed to, but the document required Dom Pedro's sanction.

I received a letter from a British naval officer at Lisbon, informing me that cholera was very bad in that city, that poverty was great, and provisions getting very scarce, that the Miguelite Government only held position there at the point of the bayonet, and that they were fearing the approach of the Pedroites.

A number of English officers now resigned, whilst others were dismissed—the latter certainly not for good conduct. French troops were now pouring in. They were capital fellows to go into action, but they did not seem to bear the pounding the Britishers could take.

The Gaia battery did much mischief to the city. Here the "João Paulo" was placed, and called an "eighty-four stone gentleman." I had lately spoken to one of our female spies, who had seen some 300 men at work getting this gun into position.

The celebrated "João Paulo Cordeiro" gun had been brought to within 500 yards of the Serra convent, preparatory to the bombarding on the night of the 16th, when some 1500 shot and shell were pitched into us, which rather shook the old city. We took such batterings generally without returning the fire, thereby saving powder and shot for absolutely necessary occasions.

On the 18th Colonel Shaw informed me that at last I was to place myself under the artillery command of General Lopez, so I bade adieu to my few remaining comrades of the Rifles, loitering nearly all day about Lordello, which post I had got to be very fond of.

In the *Chronica* of this date was reprinted a proclamation of Dom Miguel's inviting officers and men, particularly the foreigners, to abandon "los rebeldes," and come across the lines, when, if they liked, he would have them taken to Lisbon and shipped to their homes. Many of these papers were thrown into the city in the shells of the 16th. Dom Pedro had Dom Miguel's Portuguese proclamation translated into French and English and distributed.

About the middle of May it was calculated that Dom Miguel had before Oporto at least 50,000 to 60,000 men; but 70,000 to 80,000 was said to be the strength of his army. Indeed it was pretty well known that 80,000 rations were served out daily in his camp.

At the same time the number of the defenders of Oporto stood about as follows :—

Of the line	6th	600
,,	10th	600
,,	18th	500
Caçadores	2nd	400
,,	3rd	400
,,	5th	500
,,	12th	600
French, Belgians, &c.	1st	1950
Germans, Poles, Italians, &c.	2nd	650
English	1st	200
,,	2nd	300
Scotch and Rifles		140
Lancers		200
Irish		330
Dodgin's Regiment		300
Artillery		1000
Academicos		150
Officers' Cavalry		80
		8900
Movable troops		400
City Volunteers		5000 (?)
		14,300

Of these there were some 4000 in hospital; 1500 in the Serra convent; 2500 at the Foz; the rest, 6300, in the lines, ready to concentrate on points attacked.

On the 20th I got my orders as under:—

"1st Battalion of Artillery.—This will be handed to you by the Cadet Volunteer, Guilherme Bollaert, who will serve in the battery of the Pinhal. He has been attached to the battalion, and his pay and rations will commence from this date, or from the day he may present himself.

"To Lieutenant Ribeiro. "Da Costa.

"Head-Quarters, Porto, 20th May, 1833."

I presented myself at once at the celebrated Pinhal or

Saldanha battery in my rifle uniform. The little bit of gold lace on the cuff showed that I was a cadet, and I was received very kindly by the officer in command. I asked for leave to remove my kit from Lordello to a billet and procure artillery uniform. I missed my old comrades, and my good rifle—but the best of friends must part!

I went to the Foz to see my friend B——, who did not like his quarters or service at the castle, and wished to join my battalion. I told him the great difficulty I had had to be allowed to join the regular Portuguese army, and that merely as a volunteer, but not to despair; I had got in, and would try to drag him in also, for he was an old artillery officer.

I now went on duty to the Saldanha battery, which was the most elaborate and strongest we had. It had a considerable ditch, with a drawbridge in the rear. Before the entrance was a stout parapet, independent of the banquettes all round. In front, which faced due N., was an 18-pounder; on the right angle a long 24-pounder; on the left angle a 24-pounder carronade; on the right flank was a 13-pounder carronade; on the left a 24-pounder. About two-thirds within the battery were a 12 and a 9-pounder mortar, with parapets in front. Behind the 13-pounder was a long protected shed for infantry with a parapet in front of it; and another shed in front of the 24-pounder on the flank. The magazine, rendered shot and shell proof, was in the corner on the left flank.

Thus it was tolerably offensive, and if attacked by infantry, and even surrounded, could defend itself from within, aided by musketry, until reserves could come up to its assistance.

I took my turn at battery exercise, after which I notified that I had been for some time studying Villa-Flor's

artillery instructions, repeating the names of the "cousas pertencients a guerra—Palavras de comando—Posisicãos," &c., also that I was instructing myself in rocket exercise, for I had been led to believe that I might be occupied in that service. The following day I received orders from the Commandant of Artillery, Da Costa, to go to the Serio, the military academy in the Lapa road, to continue my big-gun exercise, and to go on with my plan of the batteries and lines; with the injunction when I heard of an attack in the vicinity of the Pinhal, to go to it forthwith.

21*st*.—Both sides repairing batteries.

24*th*.—Heavy fire from the Gaia, Christobal, and other batteries. Our Torre de Marca and Quinta returned fire.

25*th*.—Our Torre de Marca battery satisfactorily showed the Gaia, above Villa Nova, what it could do in the way of retaliation.

The weather was now fine. At 8 a.m. the temperature was 64 deg. Fahr.; at noon, 72 deg. Fahr. Provisions were being landed in some quantities at the Foz.

I was very much in want of cash to pay for my new uniform, and for some grocery and provision debts. I told my difficulties to Mr. D——, a merchant of Oporto, who at once stood my banker, and would not take a receipt for the sum advanced.

Commander Robert Otway, of H.M. steamer, 'Echo,' was also very kind to me; and on the 26th I had for once a really good dinner on board his hospitable vessel. That same day on board the 'Orestes,' Captain Glascock gave a large dinner party, where officers from both sides tried their best to pump one another.

26*th*.—Solignac complained bitterly to his friends of the way in which he had been treated.

27*th*.—Large disembarkation of provisions and gunpowder. Heavy fire on the city all day.

30*th*.—Bombarding from their Cosme redoubt upon Bomfim; the Gaia, Cavaco, Yellow-house, and other batteries upon the city; replied to by our Virtudes, Victoria, Conigo, and Torre de Marca.

31*st*.—Badcock went with Sorrell to Loulé to confer with him on what had passed on board the 'Nautilus' with the Miguelite Marquis Torrebello; then to Saldanha.

I had but few Portuguese acquaintances; but during this month I was introduced to the very kind and amiable Castro family in Rua Cedafeita, where I always found a welcome and passed a pleasant evening. I had also the pleasure of being of some little service to them, particularly in getting the mother and her son off to England, by the river, in an English man-of-war's boat.

CHAPTER XV.

JUNE.

Fire-wood dearly purchased—Napier, Palmella, and Mendizabal arrive with reinforcements—Napier in London—A shell among the Lancers—Dom Miguel gets funds from French Legitimists—Marshal Bourmont coming to command his army—Babel of tongues in Oporto—Sartorius' views of Napier's prospects—Description of Napier—Grand Councils of War—Negotiations; Dom Miguel no objection to marry Donna Maria—Baron de Haber receives order from Dom Miguel to treat with Dom Pedro; frustrated by the arrival of Napier—Liberals and Legitimists—Solignac's views not taken—Sartorius hands fleet to Napier—Solignac resigns—Fever and cholera—Decided that Napier and Terceira go south; this creates great uneasiness in Miguelite camp—Napier's account of his interviews with Dom Pedro; Expedition to the South planned without his knowledge; showed temper, but got over it—Account of the Council of War—City terribly bombarded—Solignac wounded leaving Oporto—Author forms Rocket Brigade—Napier and Terceira sail south—Lady spy dies of cholera—Medal struck for Torres and his band of the Serra—Provisions coming in—Try rockets at the enemy—Furious bombardment—Fleet off Cape St. Vincent; landing of Terceira—Dom Pedro most active—Sharp bombardment—Our lines strengthened—Details of Pedroite and Miguelite lines and batteries (see plan)—Todleben's Defence of Sebastopol—Artillery reminiscences—Defend Lisbon, leave Oporto open; why?

On the 1st of June, whilst exercising at the Serio, orders came to get under arms in this direction, in consequence of a party of French having a smart brush with the enemy's pickets. The French had no wood for cooking and made a forage upon an abandoned house very near the Miguelite lines. Our side lost eight killed and twelve wounded. Here was firewood dearly purchased.

Heavy bombardment this night.

We had on the 2nd important arrivals off the bar from England, namely, Charles Napier,* Palmella, and Mendizabal, with five steamers, several naval officers, 400 sailors, and 400 soldiers, under Colonel Dodgin; also 400 Belgian soldiers.† Mendizabal had scraped up some £50,000, which he brought to Dom Pedro.

Three of the enemy's batteries, the Gaia, Pinhal, and

* Charles Napier, born 6th March, 1786. In 1809 he aided in the reduction of Martinique, when he scaled one of the forts, accompanied by only five men. He was made captain in the same year of the French vessel which had been taken mainly by his efforts. He was wounded at Busaco. In 1811 he was appointed to the 'Thames,' and was instrumental in constructing a fleet in the Mediterranean. In 1814 he led the way in the ascent and descent of the Potomac, and took part against Baltimore. He remained out of active service for fourteen years. He established the first steamers on the Seine, and ventured to cross the Channel in one of them in 1821. Appointed to the 'Galatea' in 1829, he adapted to this vessel paddle-wheels worked by manual labour, and thus urged on the adoption of better means of propulsion in the Navy.

† T. G. Shaw, in "Wine and the Wine Cellar," (1863) says:—

"'Charley' Napier dined with me the day before he set off on his daring resolution to take Dom Miguel's fleet. With several active supporters of Dom Pedro, there was the Spanish guerilla chief, Espoz-y-Mina, so renowned in the old Spanish war, and so denounced at a later period by O'Connell, for shooting the mother of Cabrera.

"Napier was a slovenly-looking man; his trousers, for instance, had evidently once been white, but were now the worse for wear, and had become of a brown yellow. He was fond of saying eccentric things, and of pretending to be in a great passion; while it was evident he was merely affecting it in words and manner, and had all his wits about him. Although he wished to be thought impelled by romantic feelings to help a young Queen to her throne, still it was not difficult to see that no man ever entered on an enterprise with more cool calculation than he did before agreeing to lead this expedition, or more resolved to be well paid, alive or dead, by prize money or insurance. Well do I remember, on that evening, his declaring to my friend George Bell, that unless the steamers were provided with certain things, they must look out for some one else. When asked what he would do if he did not meet with Dom Miguel's fleet, he replied, 'I'll look for a black night; I'll try to slip past Belem; I'll run on to Lisbon, land there, and—then we shall see what we shall see.'"

Candal, on the other side of the river, were continually blazing upon S. Ovidio, where Bacon's Lancers had their quarters. On the night of the 2nd a shell burst in a room where twenty of the lancers were in bed; one was killed, and all the beds were smashed, causing a complete scene of devastation. Some shells also fell into the garden of Solignac's quarters. The next day, as I was passing the Praça Nova, a shell came into it, bursting about two seconds after touching the ground. I had just time to get within a door-way. At midnight the Gaia gave us fifty shells in about as many minutes. We gave them a few shot in return, and would have given more, but we had no powder to throw away.

A mail had arrived from England. I went to the English Factory-house to read the papers, in which it was stated that Dom Pedro's affairs were not considered in so desperate a condition as some little time back. We heard from the other side, that Dom Miguel had received money, part of the produce of a loan contracted for him in France, that the subscribers to it were nearly all of the French Legitimist party, and that the French Marshal Bourmont, with French officers, were about joining the enemy; also that the Duke of Wellington had just sent Dom Miguel a wigging letter.

From the number of different uniforms seen in the city, one might have imagined there were detachments from every European army. As I went up the Rua S. Antonio one day, I counted at least fifty. There were many volunteer corps, each with its own uniform; then the Miguelite deserters in theirs; then soldiers of the several regiments of the line, Caçadores, English, Scotch, Irish, French, Poles, Germans, Italians, and Spaniards (who passed for Italians). Sketches of these would have been interesting. Then the

Babel sound of languages, and the attempt of all to speak Portuguese!

On Napier's arrival he went at once on board Sartorius' ship the 'Rainha,' whom he found disgusted with the service, and indignant at the conduct towards him. Napier says, "From what I could collect from him, the prospect before me was by no means brilliant."

On the 4th I met Napier and Palmella, in most energetic conversation, going to Dom Pedro's quarters. He looked ill, and had his face bound up. Napier was about 5 feet 8 inches in height, spare made, black hair and whiskers, straight nose, and sallow complexion, and fifty years of age. There was no regard to personal appearance, but he looked most intent on what he was about. Sartorius was about giving up the command of the fleet to "Charley." We all felt assured the new Admiral meant mischief to Dom Miguel's fleet whenever he could get at it.

There was a severe bombardment nearly all night; eighty-one grenades* fell in one locality; several girls and children were killed.

6*th*.—No firing during the day, supposed to be on account of its being the feast of Corpus Christi. At night a few shells were thrown into the city.

7*th*.—Grand councils of war were being held, and plans of operations discussed. Affairs seemed to be somewhat desperate. The Miguelites, in great force, had completely walled us in by a line of redoubts, connected by deep ditches and high palisades. Every height of theirs was crowned with works, some of a formidable description; indeed, a sortie on our part so late in the day promised little chance of success. It was, therefore, ultimately proposed to change the seat of war, and try a landing

* "Badcock," p. 261.

at some place in the south. At midnight there was a fearful bombardment from all quarters; a number of lives were lost, and much damage done.

The city had now been nine months besieged, and although it had suffered much, it still reared its head undauntedly. The gardens were filled with the most beautiful flowers. The vineyards of the whole country around were in bloom, and added to the fragrance of the air; so that, in the interim of sulphur and smoke, the atmosphere was perfumed with the smell of plants.

The camelia bloomed in the open air, in every variety; jasmines, mimosas, briar-roses, hedges of fuchsias, oleanders, pomegranates, were to be seen in every garden; the sweet-scented heath, "sempre noiva" (always a bride), orange and lemon-trees, affording flowers, fruit, and shade; roses, ranunculuses, azaleas, trias, kalmias, &c.

There was a magnolia at Villar ten feet six inches in girth, the spread seventeen yards, and the flowers two feet six inches round.

Sartorius was preparing to leave for England. He would carry with him the good wishes of all who knew him, and the feeling was that Napier would now snatch the prize that ought to have been his, namely, Dom Miguel's fleet.

There appeared no reason to doubt that Dom Miguel had just then received some £80,000, introduced it would seem by the river Douro; that he had been promised by the Legitimist party all the money he chose to ask for, if he would only take Oporto! This we believed there was no chance of his doing, except by wholesale treason, which did not exist in our camp.

Colonel Shaw* observes:—"What were the negotia-

* "Memoirs," ii, p. 38.

tions which took place on board H.M.S. 'Nautilus,' Lord Henry Paulet, I will not pretend to say, as there are various different statements coming from good authority. What I positively know is, that Baron de Haber, a political and favoured friend of Dom Miguel, received permission from him to have a meeting with Dom Pedro, with full authority to adjust differences; but this attempt was frustrated by the arrival of Napier and the expedition to the south. Dom Pedro was anxious first to see the result of that expedition, and Dom Miguel was confident in his power of taking Oporto, weakened by the departure of Pedroite troops."

Napier* says, at one meeting between Saldanha and Conde Torrebello on board the 'Nautilus,' it was believed that nothing short of Donna Maria marrying Dom Miguel would be listened to.

I am led to believe that Baron de Haber had long seen that Dom Miguel and those who surrounded him were not the individuals to cope with the then Liberal politics of England and France, and the increasing Constitutional views in Spain; that the interior of Portugal was getting impoverished and tired of the war, and that Dom Miguel's dispirited legions had more than their match in the few but determined defenders and inhabitants of Oporto; and it was likely that the Baron would have proposed that both Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel should leave Portugal, and that Donna Maria II. should be placed on the throne; still the greatest difficulty for the Legitimist party was, would the Portuguese accept her without the Constitution? I should say they would not. So what would the Miguelite party have gained? Why little or nothing, as they would

* "Account of the War."

never be allowed to go back to the old despotic order of things.

On the 9th I dined with a party of Pedroite officers on board H.M.S. 'Echo,' whilst the Miguelite commander, Sir J. Campbell, and some of his officers, dined on board the 'Orestes.' This was an amiable state of things!

Captain Glascock * puts these prandial affairs thus:—"Mogul's officers used often to meet Dom Pedro's gemmen aboard the different ships of the English squadron. They used to bundle below, and grub and grease their moustaches together at the same table."

10*th*.—Councils of war still held, and numerous were the intrigues going on. Solignac fancied he could out-do the Portuguese, but in this he was mistaken.

11*th*.—The councils of war were over, all had been satisfactorily arranged, and the Duke of Terceira was to be the General; so Napier left Oporto, embarked and went on board Sartorius' ship, who gave up the command of the fleet to the new Admiral, on receiving from him letters of thanks from the Ministers in the name of Dom Pedro. Sartorius soon left for England.

Dom Miguel arrived at S. Ovidio, and was to be seen reviewing his troops on the other side of the river.

12*th*.—Caçadores, other Portuguese troops, and a battalion of French were embarked. The Marquis Palmella was created Duke of Funchal.

Many military arrangements had been under consideration. Solignac proposed to attack the enemy's lines; or to go with an expedition of 5000 men to take Lisbon, or that some other commander should go, and he would remain in charge of Oporto. None of his views were accepted, so he resigned.

* "Naval Sketchbook."

The price heretofore given to the Miguelite spies for information was ten cruzados novos; however, our projected doings had become so important that a hundred was offered, but they generally got misled. Dom Pedro was well and reasonably served for the love of the Liberal cause. Our side tried to impress upon the enemy that Dom Pedro would abandon Oporto at once, and make a dash upon Lisbon, which was not exactly the move.

The mail brought information from England that the result of the debate for the recognition of Donna Maria was a majority of 260 in the Commons, but 17 minority in the Lords. It was the Commons we looked to, caring but little about the Lords.

I called on a Portuguese family, whose acquaintance I had made. The wife and two daughters had just died of malignant fever. There was scarcely a family, even of the upper classes, in the city but had lost one or more of its members by fever or cholera.

On the 14th, late at night, I was in a position to ascertain with every certainty that when Dom Miguel—who was at Carvalho, two leagues from Villa Nova—knew that Napier had taken charge of the Pedroite fleet, and that Terceira was to move south with a force, there was very much uneasiness in his camp, and heavy baggage was at once moved from before our lines towards Lisbon. This I communicated at 11 p.m. at Dom Pedro's quarters.

It was now known that Napier would have about 2500 men in his fleet under the command of the Duke of Terceira, and that Palmella and Mendizabal would be on board. Their course was to the south, and it was their intention to land there. Two great objects were in view, the enticing of Dom Miguel's fleet out, and doing their best to take it, which being done, Lisbon was looked upon as ours.

Admiral Napier's account of arrival at Oporto and sailing south in search of Dom Miguel's fleet :—

I explained to Terceira how we came to Oporto and what brought us. Loulé was Minister of Marine, and he cautioned me to say nothing of my projected expedition (!) I was received at the door of the apartment by the Emperor, who stood with his hands behind him, looking very angry and speaking as roughly as he looked.* The Emperor asked me if I wished an expedition immediately. He then referred me to Solignac. The interview with him was not more satisfactory. I wanted 6000 men—he had not more than 6000 bayonets in Oporto. I complained at the reception I had met with, and if something was not immediately done I should return to England.† Evil-disposed persons had put it into Dom Pedro's head that we had brought the expedition out to displace him. The next morning I saw the Emperor : he was gracious. I told him he had no choice but to lay down his arms, or take a decisive step. The shortest was to force the Tagus or send a force to the south.

Freire was idle, incapable, and an intriguer ; Candido Xavier a worn-out old man ; and Silva Carvalho unpopular, though clever.

Solignac now said he had 9000 capable of taking the field. The Emperor did not like Palmella. There was a general Council of War, composed of some twenty, including the Emperor, ministers, generals, and officers. We were to state our opinions, and the Emperor was to decide. The first arrangement was that I was to have the Emperor with me and 5000 men out of Oporto. In the course of the day all was changed : the Emperor and the Marshal were to remain in Oporto, and a smaller expedition sent to land where it was most desirable. I now received my commission as Vice-Admiral and Major-General, with authority to

* Badcock (p. 259) says :—"I mentioned to the Emperor the expected arrival of reinforcements (Napier and his party). He did not seem well pleased at it, as it was an expedition planned without his knowledge. I believe nothing but the extreme urgency of the case made him consent to it."

† Extract of letter from Sir C. Shaw, Dec., 1865 :—

"Napier was the most egotistical, selfish man I ever knew, but clever and brave. He never wrote or spoke well of any one with whom he served. I always held my own with him, but pretended not to see when he was fishing me.

"He was so displeased with the *entourage* of Dom Pedro that it was with the greatest difficulty the late Mr. Bell and I prevented him from returning to England the day of his arrival in Oporto."

appoint my officers, took leave, and embarked at the Foz after dark. On the morning of the 11th I got safely on board Sartorius' ship, who gave up the command of the squadron. The Duke of Terceira was to go in command of 2500 men, and Palmella and Mendizabal were to go also. Solignac, who disapproved of the move, resigned, and the Emperor took command of the army with Saldanha as chief-of-the-staff. By the 18th all were on board, and on the 20th we got away.

In the "Extraits" concerning the Duke of Saldanha, in his letter from Cintra in 1866, is the following:—

On the arrival of Palmella, Mendizabal, and Napier, there were several Councils of War; and whilst these were going on there was much excitement in the city and among the troops. In the Council about the 7th, on the right of the Emperor was Solignac, then the ministers and Palmella; Saldanha came next, then came sixteen other generals and chiefs of corps. Solignac proposed to attack on the south of the Douro, and a march upon Lisbon; those of his party approved of his opinion. Saldanha opposed this, and proposed an expedition to the Algarves and Setubal, thus occupying the country at various points, so that the Liberals, who were dispersed over the kingdom, could easily join. He added that an attack on the lines south of the Douro was a most difficult enterprise, and that if it succeeded, a march of fifty leagues—during which the Liberals would be surrounded by the army of the enemy, which was so superior, and had ten times their number of cavalry—would be a most hazardous enterprise. The sixteen generals and chiefs who followed him were of his opinion. Those who had previously spoken asked the Emperor's permission to change their votes, and they agreed with Saldanha. Solignac then rose, and, addressing the Emperor, said: "Sire, your Majesty sees that all the chiefs of the army have voted against me. I cannot continue in this position—I must resign." The Emperor accepted his resignation. In 1827, when Saldanha quitted the ministry of war, the intendant of police, Bastos, had done his best to cause it to be believed that, if Saldanha had sustained the charter with so much ardour, it was because he was a republican. During the emigration, Saldanha's adversaries followed in Bastos' wake, and gave the Emperor so bad an impression of the General that, in the order of the day announcing that the 4th March had been glorious for the Liberal army, Saldanha, who commanded, was not mentioned, neither did the Emperor send him one word of thanks However, when Saldanha was in personal communication with him, his distrust disappeared, and proofs of the greatest esteem and consideration were bestowed by the Duke of Braganca on the chief-of-his-staff, General Saldanha.

Whilst Napier * was embarking Terceira and his troops, Dom Miguel continued to keep up the spirit of his army by reviews. The shouts of his soldiers shook the air as he passed down the lines, excited by their officers to please him, animate themselves, and discourage the besieged, who were now undeceived with regard to the so frequently and studiously propagated report that their enemies round Oporto did not exceed 22,000 men. Upwards of 80,000 were on the commissariat returns for rations distributed daily at that time in the Miguelite army, including the numerous peasantry and transport services. The provisions for this crowd of combatants and non-combatants were procured at a cheap rate. The cattle were driven, and the corn taken wherever it could be found, in quotas, from the farming proprietors, by the active exertions of the local authorities, who, in that service, were throughout harshly inflexible and unwearied.

On the night of the 15th the city was terribly bombarded. Well was it that it was built of sturdy granite, or it must have been long since knocked down. I had turned in, but could not sleep for the banging of the shot and the whirring of the burst shells, so got up and went to my battery. Dom Miguel was reported to be at Carvalho, two leagues from Villa Nova.

On the night of the 16th, Marshal Solignac tried to get over the bar on his return to France, but the sea was so rough he had to return, and got wounded in the arm.†

* "Civil War."

† Much conversation had taken place in Dom Miguel's camp, at the few men wounded by the soldiers, and Baron de Haber told Miguel he was sure he could manage better. Dom Miguel, putting on a private's shacko, went down with the Baron to the beach, and there placed bits of white paper by which the boats must pass during the night. This night the Marshal embarked and was wounded.—Shaw's Memoirs, ii., p. 50.

We all knew that he had reformed the commissariat; he had looked into the claims of foreign officers, for whom he felt a sympathy; but he could not understand the political and military manœuvres going on in Oporto. Dom Pedro* treated him with the most friendly attention at his departure, giving him honours both civil and military. That he was essentially useful in the defence of Oporto they must be ungrateful who deny.

Dom Pedro resumed the chief command, having Saldanha, now made major-general, by his side. He reviewed the troops in the lines on the 16th, and was in good spirits. The Miguelites opened a new battery of guns and mortars at Banderinha. A tower of the church of St. Domingo fell and smashed four people sitting below.

On the 17th the commander of the artillery, Da Costa, informed me that he was about forming a rocket brigade, to be composed of "rapazes inteligentes" (intelligent lads), requesting me to be one of them, and give up my duty at the Saldanha battery. So at last I got into scientific soldiering. Through my good friend Captain Crosbie, Captain Bertrand (Pryce) offered me a room in his quarters in the Rua do Principe, where I had a clean and comfortable billet, which I had not had for the last eight months, and where I could rest, read, write, and go on with my plan of Oporto, its lines and batteries, in perfect enjoyment. I need scarcely add that Captain Crosbie shared his provisions with me. It was time I had the opportunity to take some little care of myself—I was very thin, sallow, and had a troublesome cough, which rather alarmed me. We had an over-abundance of camp fever, typhus, and still some cholera.

* "Civil War," p. 206.

18*th*.—Dom Miguel had come to the north side, and had been to Matozinhos and Infesta.

19*th*.—Heavy cannonading of the city from the north. Dom Miguel reconnoitring on the north side.

20*th*.—I was ordered, with a party of artillery turned into rocket men, to place a few 12lb carcass rockets with stands in the Virtudes battery (where I found my friend B—— in command), which was just opposite the Gaia and Candal batteries, on the other side of the river, so as to be in readiness. This same day Napier sailed south with the fleet. During the night the Gaia battery became offended, for some reason or other, with the Virtudes, and gave it several shot. This was too much for B——, so I assisted him to return the compliment bang, bang, bang, after which I went to my billet and turned in.

Under date of 21st Badcock* states there was much sickness among the troops. The bad diet and long confinement did not conduce to health, add to which the putrid carcasses of horses and mules, devoured by the French and Belgians, was, one would have supposed, sufficient to poison an army.

I now met in society with a Brazilian lady, Donna Maria Carlotta O——, who had been for two years imprisoned in Lisbon for her Liberal way of thinking. She escaped, got to Oporto, and had given much important information to Dom Pedro, and was returning to Lisbon with Pedroite instructions.

We looked upon her as a devoted patriot, the Miguelites as a spy, and, if caught by them, she would have been shot. I had the charge of her to the river, took her on board the ———, after which she would find her way to Lisbon.†

* "Civil War."

† This lady, shortly after her arrival in Lisbon, died of cholera; as did an Irish priest to whom I had an address to find her, when I got there.

The weather was now getting warm; at 10 a.m. in a room it was 75° Fahr. A medal of honour was struck for Torres and his devoted defenders of the Serra convent. Provisions in fair quantities were finding their way into the besieged city. The Gaia battery became very active, particularly with shells, as many as four at a time making their diabolic curves and noise in the air. A poor woman was near me during a part of this shelling. She exclaimed, "O God Jesus! don't come near us. Keep away—don't kill any one. O devils of Miguelites!"

On St. John's Eve, the 23rd, there were bonfires, squibs, and crackers about the town. Children made puny batteries, charging little guns with powder they had begged of the soldiers, mimicking war and its operations. The Gaia and Banderinha batteries played on the city. We returned the fire. The next day was a holiday, when it was expected the enemy would make an attack in the neighbourhood of the Cobello. Saldanha was there before daybreak; but at 8 a.m. all was quiet. In the evening there was much shelling and occasional picket-firing about the Foz and Quinta de Van Zeller lines. We got information that our fleet was off Lisbon, somewhat to the surprise of the Miguelite Government.

On the 25th the Rocket Brigade was formed, when I had the honour of being placed in command, but as to the "rapazes inteligentes," or intelligent lads, I never saw any of them to assist me, and had to draw upon our Portuguese artillerymen. A Mr. Anderson had brought from England a large quantity of shell, shot, carcass, and congreve rockets, 9, 12, 18, and 24-pounders. On the following day I had orders to escort him, rockets, tubes, and stands, to a position, and try them upon some houses occupied by the enemy's pickets in advance, and between the

Cobello battery and As Medalhas. This job and the time consumed to transport the rockets, &c., in the lumbering native carts, I shall not easily forget. Dom Pedro had placed himself in the Gloria battery to our left, to note proceedings. Having fixed the tubes and stands, we got the range and commenced directing the several sorts of rockets upon the picket-houses and encampment, which disturbed the peace of the parties there, much to Dom Pedro's amusement. Our troops were in readiness to repel any advances, but the enemy was not anxious just then to show their teeth. I carted off and housed the rockets in a magazine in the neighbouring battery of Ramada Alta, now my head-quarters.

On the 28th, I was ordered with rockets to Monte Branco, and put up a 24-pounder frame, it being supposed there would be an attack the following day in this direction. We now heard that the fleet had rounded Cape St. Vincent, in the far south of the kingdom, and that our troops had been landed at Cacella on the 24th. This was quick work. From a reliable source I was informed that England ere long would acknowledge Donna Maria II. as Queen of Portugal.

I saw much of Dom Pedro at this period; he was generally on horseback; he was very active and seemed to be in the best of spirits.

Colonel Dodgin and his command were ordered to the Foz to strengthen the lines there; as many went as were sober. But we were sure they would all fight well, when they got at it.

29th.—The enemy was reinforced from the south. It was reported they were making ladders for an assault on the city. Some few of the British merchants began to make inquiries concerning means and preparations for

their safety. There were three British men-of-war on the river.

Sunday, 30*th*.—With many others, I accompanied Dom Pedro and suite to high mass at La Lapa. The moment mass was over, the enemy commenced a tremendous shelling, which lasted two hours. I ran off to my rockets at Monte Branco, so as to be in readiness. The Gaia battery got pretty well dusted from our Torre da Marca and the two Virtudes. We afterwards learnt why we were thus treated; it was the fifth anniversary of the discomfiture of the Constitutionalists of Oporto, and the entry of the Absolutos, when they committed great excesses. Another bombardment in the evening.

Dom Miguel was much on the northern lines; indeed, he had been repeatedly seen riding about with his staff. I believe had Colonel Bacon been allowed, he with his fine regiment of lancers could have captured him, which would have settled the war at once. That same Sunday night we got another dose of shells, including some shrapnels. The Miguelite desertion to us was getting rather considerable.

A memorandum to me of Sir C. Shaw's runs thus:—The enemy had enclosed us so completely, and at such short distances, that at any moment they might be amongst us, so I was always ready with my men under arms. No one came from Oporto; the firing was dangerous. There was little to eat, as dogs, cats, and mules had been disposed of.

DESCRIPTION OF THE LINES AND BATTERIES (SEE PLAN.)

The first lines of defence of the city had a front on the river of about 800 yards; slight trenches and barricades

across the streets, and a few mines. The next were from near Torre da Marca, along the river front of the city to Fontainhas, thence sweeping round by S. Ovidio. Above the river in the town were some batteries, pointing south at the Miguelites.

As the siege progressed, deeper trenches, stronger batteries, and other works stretched outwards in all directions, until the lines of the Liberals, in many places, reached to within pistol-shot of the enemy's works, some of which were soon taken and occupied by the Liberals. By the end of June, 1833, all had been done that could be in the way of fortification.

The advanced lines on the north commenced on the seashore at the Senhora da Luz, or light-house, to the Pinhal redoubt, flèches in advance, redoubt Pasteleiro, Flexa dos Mortos, sweeping round by various works to the redoubt Van Zeller, crossing the Villa do Conde road beyond Carvalhido, having the redoubts of Medalhas and Cobello in advance of the general lines, by the redoubts of Das Antas, still in advance of the lines, then coming south, by Bomfim, Lomba, and Campanha batteries down to the river. There was an interior line opposite the redoubt Van Zeller known as that of Bom Successo.

From the first point, La Luz, came the Foz Castle at the mouth of the Douro, the northern shores by Oiro, the batteries of Rabida, Bicalho, Conego, Torre da Marca, and, on elevations within the city, those of the Virtudes, Victoria, Fontainhas, Seminario, to the China.

The Pedroites had most fortunately the Serra Convent on a fine elevation, opposite the city, on the other side of the river, and on the Miguelite side, as well fortified as possible, in charge of the veteran Torres.

The siege and defence of Oporto commenced about

the 8th of September, 1832. The city is about three miles from the sea, built on high hills and valleys, offering lines of defence easily turned into a fortress, but also easily assailed from other heights on both sides of the river. The Pedroites had to protect about twelve miles of lines, the enemy some sixteen; but the latter fortified according to the best methods, every farmhouse being protected by loophole-walls.

Of plans, Mr. Wyld published two or three partial ones whilst the siege was progressing. Captain Belcher surveyed the river Douro at the same time. I also drew up a plan of the lines and batteries, by bearings and cross-bearings, a tedious operation on account of the hilly nature of the ground. I heard years afterwards of the existence of Colonel Moreira's "Carte Topographique et Militaire," but it was only in August, 1867, through the kindness of Conde de Rilvas, the Portuguese *chargé d'affaires* in London, I obtained a lithograph copy of Moreira's "Carta Topographica das Linhas do Porto."

In 1846-7, there was much warlike disturbance in Portugal. One party, under Conde das Antas (F. Xavier da Silva Pereira) fortified themselves in Oporto in the old works of 1833. After the commotion was over, the Government had all the said works destroyed.

Referring now to Moreira's "Carta Topographica," to materials sent me by Sir Charles Shaw, taking Belcher's survey of the river, and my own plan and observations, I proceed to give details of the interesting lines and batteries of Oporto in 1832-3.

PEDROITE WORKS.

1. Castle of S. João da Foz, to protect the entrance of the Douro. It was put into a state of defence and in charge of Colonel José da Fonseca Gouvêa (made Baron de Lordello).*

2. B. opposite Cabedello.

3. B. Cantereira, near the Anjo Chapel, 140 feet above the sea.

4. B. Trem, near the river.

5. B. S. Caterina, above Oiro.

6. B. Monte Rabida. Had seven embrasures. 240 feet above the sea.

7. B. Bicalho.

8. B. Do Conigo Texeira. Three guns.

9. B. Torre da Marca. Two heavy guns.

10. B. Quinta das Virtudes. One gun.

11. B. Virtudes. Three guns.

12. B. da Alfandega.

13. B. da Victoria. Three guns, one a 68-pounder, and a mortar cas in Oporto. There was the one-gun battery beyond "Cooper's on the wall."

14. B. Porta do Sol. Two guns.

15. B. Fontainhas. Three guns.

16. B. da Corteceira.

17. B. do Seminario. Four guns ; one mortar.

18. Bs. da China (two). The works now go north.

19. B. das Oliveiras.

20. Fort Campanha.

21. B. Bom Retiro.

22. B. Lomba.

23. B. Bomfim. Five guns.

24. B. Goelas de Pão, or Red House Battery. This commanded the valley and road to Valongo.

25. B. do Cativo, or Captivo.

26. B. Povoa de Cima.

27. B. and Telegraph of the Congregados on Monte Bello. One gun and one mortar generally. This commanded the Antas Valley to the Cruz das Regateiras on the Guimarães road, from which to that of Braga the eminences were fortified.

28. Redoubts of Antas (three) on Monte Fojo. Taken from the enemy 17th November, 1832.

* Shaw should have been made Baron de Lordello, and Fonseca, Baron or Conde da Foz.

29. B. Agua-ardente.

30. Redoubt of Cobello. This was taken from the enemy on the 9th of April, 1832.

31. B. Donna Maria.

32. B. Dom Pedro.

33. Fort San Bras. Three guns; one mortar. Defended Lindo Valley.

34. Redoubt Medalhas. Commanding the valley of S. Mamede.

35. Fort Gloria. Four guns; one mortar. Monte Pedral (a granite quarry), 440 feet above the level of the sea.

36. Bs. at Carvalhido.

37. Fort S. Paulo.

38. B. Ramada Alta.

39. Redoubt Van Zeller. Three guns.

40. B. das Alemaes.

41. Redoubt Monte Branco.

42. B. de Matozinhos. In the rear.

43. B. near the Cemetery, and to south the "Castello."

44. B. Lordello.

45. B. Salabert.

46. B. Terra Seca.

47. B. Casa Branca.

48. B. Pinheiro.

49. B. Oiteira.

50. Fortified House of Mata Sete (here was Shaw and the Scotch), having communication with the Flexa dos Mortos.

50a. The *Rocket Trenches* or battery, in the rear of Mata Sete.

51. Redoubt Pasteleiro. Three guns. In the rear a fortified house. Approaching B. Pinhal more flèches.

52. Redoubt Pinhal or Saldanha's. Six guns; one mortar.

53. Forte da Luz. 220 feet above the sea. Stockades.

54. The Serra do Pilar Convent, on the south side of the Douro: is 272 feet above the sea. Had two guns at Eiza; two at the Eira trenches; two at the Convent House; two at the gate of the garden; three at the Pedreira or quarry; one at the Chapel; two at the Braganza battery; and two mortars near the Pedreira—indeed our citadel. Some few of the batteries were known under other names.

The rather slight Pedroite defensive works were of the rough and ready description, generally of stones, earth, and wine pipes filled with earth; many having neither

ditch or any other protection in front, and open in the rear. With the extensive means the enemy had at its disposal, if the Miguelites had been made of the proper stuff, the Pedroite works would have been of no avail.

None of the Pedroite works equalled those of the enemy, for the reason that the former had not the same resources at command. But the Liberals would have up half-a-dozen useful works whilst their opponents would be measuring the ground for one of theirs, arranging for the ditch, berm, parapet, banquette, trench, platform, gabions, fascines, &c. Indeed, as the siege progressed, many of the Miguelite works were more like defensive than offensive structures.

Todleben's Plan for Strengthening the Defence of Sebastopol in* 1854.—He resolved "to choose a position as little extended and as near the town as the nature of the ground would allow, and to arm its principal points with a formidable artillery; to connect these points by trenches, to be defended by musketry; to establish there separate batteries, and in this way to concentrate upon all the approaches of the town a powerful front and flank fire of artillery and musketry, endeavouring to sweep with as much fire as possible all the bendings of the broken ground by which the enemy might approach."

His main purpose was expressed by the word "mitrail"—grape and canister, a pelting blast of it. The round-shot, shell, bayonets, and the rifleman's far-ranging bullet had each, he acknowledged, its use, and now, too, if ever in war, the spade and pickaxe were needed. Todleben had about four miles of lines to defend, and that on the land side; the coast could take good care of itself.

* Kinglake's "Crimea," iii., p. 205.

The foregoing is something like what was done, but on a smaller scale, in Oporto in 1832-3. We had our whole river front, of five miles, to defend, and a curve of about seven miles on the land side, including two miles of the narrow and tender part, Lordello being in its centre; the enemy's Serralves battery (No. A 11) being within 400 yards of the Lordello lines, and about 800 from the Douro. We had only a little side door, the Foz, which was most exposed. The knowledge and energy of our engineer officers, particularly of Barreiros, were severely tested; and Saldanha gave the finishing stroke of the work by insisting on and erecting the Pinhal (No. 52) and the Pasteleiro (No. 51) batteries, at our weakest points. Saldanha had great faith also in "mitrail."

We took the Antas, Cobello, and Pinhal heights, and kept them.

MIGUELITE WORKS.

They commenced their offensive works of circumvallation and investment on the south side of the river, and about a mile from those of the besieged on the north, having very good positions, particularly on a serrated ridge, so as to prevent provisions coming into the city, to attack Oporto, whenever they wanted a field-day, and to bombard it at pleasure. They had every sort of support, with abundance of powder, shot and shell, to carry out their projects. They had generally a narrow trench cut in front of the muzzles of their guns, from whence they could load securely; the guns being braced up to the embrasures. Their batteries and works were as follows, commencing on the south at the mouth of the Douro.

A. On Cabedello point, three batteries.

B. Pedra da Cão, two batteries on the heights.

C. Moinhas (Mills), fortified.
D. Sam-Paio batteries, one 170 feet above the sea.
E. B. Furada, land burrowed with rabbit warrens.
F. B. Verdinha, on the heights of Candal.
G. Castle of Gaia,* on hill of same name.
H. B. do Pinhal de D. Leonor, on a height.
I. Fort Lavoura.
J. Redoubt Villa Nova.
K. B. Fonte Santa on Monte Fartura.
L. Fort da Barroza. In the rear were the camps of the Lamego and Aveiro Militias.
M. Bs. of Monte Cravelo, with camp of the 16th Regiment.
N. B. Pinhal Miudo.
O. B. Nova.
P. Fort Crastro.
Q. B. Campo Bello.

* The following is an Oporto tradition as to the origin of the name of the Gaia hill on which the powerful Miguelite battery was placed :—

"Between the ninth and tenth centuries a Moorish chief of the Almoravides had his castle on the said eminence. He had stolen the lady Gaia, the young and beautiful wife of the Christian Governor of Oporto, and had shut her up in an apartment of his stronghold, where through the bars of her prison she could see the opposite shore, but to which she looked in vain for help. . . . She resisted every entreaty and menace on the part of the moslem to be added to his harem. . . . At his last interview with his unhappy prisoner he said, 'Mira Gaia, que não tornas mais a mirar'—'Look, Gaia, it is the last time you will gaze on the other side (of the river)'. . . . He then severed her head from her body."

Thus the hill on which the Moorish Castle stood was called Gaia, and the opposite side Mira Gaia.

We know not the name of the Moorish castle and settlement; but under the Romans we find the term Cale given to the district.

Later the hill and its vicinity was called Gaia. Subsequently Gaia increased to the river side, and became Villa Nova da Gaia; but that portion towards the hill is still distinguished as Gaia. There is a poem called "Gaya," on the abduction of the Princess Zahara, by Dom Ramero, A.D. 932 (Badcock, p. 172).

Two versions are given for the origin of Portucal or Portugal.

When the northern side of the river was built upon it was called O Porto or Portus Cale. In 899 the Gascons and French re-settled the district, and from the latter it received the name of Portus Gallorum.

R. B. da Oliveira.
S. B. Quinta do Bactas.
T. B. da Pedra Salgada. The river was now crossed.
U. Fort Val-bom, on heights.
V. Fort do Tim, on a height.
W. Fortified Camp do Sobral.
X. Fort do Pinheiro Queimado and camp.
Y. Fort do Contemil. To the right the Camp of Valongo.
Z. Redoubt de Curraes.
A 1. Fort d'Aricza.
A 2. Fort da Regateira.
A 3. Fort de Lamas. In front of which was the Antas taken from the Miguelites.
A 4. Redoubt de Arreteia (Trou de Loup).
A 5. Fort de Dom Miguel. Very strong. In front of the Cobello.
A 6. Redoubt da Tilheira.
A 7. Fortified houses of Arretcia.
A 8. Fort Bulgos. Also fortifications at Prelada.
A 9. B. de S. Jaens.
A 10. B. das Cruzinhas.
A 11. Fort Serralves or Serra Alves.
A 12. Fort da Vilarinha, near to which was Camp of the 5th Infantry, and to the north Camp of Arganil.
A 13. Fort da Ervilha.
A 14. Fort Castro.
A 15. Battery near the sea.
A 16. Fort de Queijo, sometimes called Black Fort. One mile from the Foz.

Artillery Reminiscences.—My first instructor was Colonel Rochfort, from whom I obtained some of the theoretical portion; my principal practical master was my protegé, Captain Brown, who had been a captain of artillery in Colombia under Bolivar; he also assisted me in the rocket-works at Lordello. From Count Fatti, a Cephalonian by birth, who had command of Dom Pedro's battery—he was a most skilful artillery officer—I occasionally, when he was returning shots, took a lesson, also at any battery my friend Brown happened to be at. I attended

drills at the Serio, and at the Saldanha battery under Lieutenant Ribeiro.

Colonel Antonio da Costa was at the head of the Artillery and Engineers' Department, but Colonel Barreiros was the brave practical military engineer.

As already mentioned, the Miguelite works and guns were in every way, particularly in number, superior to the Pedroite, and, having a superabundance of powder and shot, they could bombard at pleasure, whilst we could only retaliate upon annoying batteries comparatively within our reach. We had no powder or shot to throw uselessly away. There was a time when we had only one barrel of powder in the city!

Many of the Portuguese lived in their batteries the whole time of the siege, never quitting them whilst there was the smallest shelter. Their sight was particularly quick, and they avoided the shot most cleverly. They were, however, frequently blown to pieces by those grenades which were thrown direct, and the batteries were often damaged. A fine old artillery officer, Major Olivares, commanded the Gloria battery; he never quitted it during the whole time of the siege.

Sir C. Shaw, in his MSS. "Game of War," already mentioned, gives this definition of a SIEGE. The attacking party first places itself in security in an entrenched camp, and then they break ground before the fortress. The first is generally in the night, when they dig a ditch, throwing the earth towards the fortress to protect them from the shot. From this, by zig-zag ditches, they gradually approach the town, throwing up batteries, and placing artillery thereon as they progress against the weakest part of the fortress. The rifle-cannon must change the whole system of attack and defence.

Under Blockade, Sir Charles has as follows:—An enemy surrounds a place to force it to surrender from want of food, as at Kars during the last Russian war. At the siege of Oporto in 1832-3 (eleven months), the Miguelite army kept up such a strict blockade that it was impossible, for six months, to have communication with people out of town, so the garrison had to live on small quantities of rice, sugar, and salt-fish, until they drove the enemy away.

Reconnaissance is an attempt by a general to examine a fortress or ground in possession of an enemy. The enemy's outposts are generally driven in, so that the general may have a near view.

Since the introduction of rifle-cannon and arms of precision,* a reconnaissance is very dangerous and scarcely possible, all the advantage being on the side of the defenders. Generals must now attempt, with one or two officers, to creep up to get a view unseen by the enemy.

In July, 1866, the Marquis Sá da Bandeira published his considerations on the necessity of fortifying the city of Lisbon. He instanced the memorable example of the lines of Oporto, constructed by Dom Pedro in 1832-3, when the cause he defended ran great risk of being lost. The works were rapidly executed, and were nearly all in an imperfect state. Nevertheless during many months they successfully resisted the attacks of the enemy, so much superior in numbers and resources. It was due to the admirable perseverance of Dom Pedro, who presided over the construction of the lines and batteries, and to the bravery of his followers, that the cause of free-

* Sir C. Shaw wrote me in 1865, "I was the person who forced (through the *Times*) the long-range rifles in the British Army."

dom triumphed. Without these fortifications this triumph would have been impossible.

The lines of Torres Vedras gave independence to Portugal in 1810. The lines of Oporto, and subsequently those of Lisbon (also constructed under the orders of Dom Pedro), gave to Portugal liberty and the success of the rights of the reigning dynasty. The Lisbon lines were formed in 1833 by Dom Pedro, in less than one month. There were twenty-seven principal works, in which 184 cannon were placed.

I have heard it stated by a Portugese diplomate that it was a Portuguese engineer officer who suggested the formation of the lines of Torres Vedras. I find in the works I have consulted nothing on this point.

See Murray's Hand-book of Portugal, Edition 1864, p. 82:—"At the close of the last century Sir Charles Stuart had perceived that, if France should ever seriously attempt the conquest of Portugal, here was the vantage ground of defence. And the Duke of Wellington, in his campaign against Junot, had observed this part of the country at leisure and came to the same conclusion . . . . and that consideration was in his mind when the convention of Cintra was made. . . . . The line of defence was about 40 miles; the fortifications consisted of 130 forts, redoubts, and batteries, chiefly forming two great lines, ... Colonel Jones says—The lines in front of Lisbon are a triumph of the British nation, whose officers it is customary to represent as inferior in military science to those of other nations."

On reference again to Sà de Bandeira's report, he says: —Lord Wellington, in the instructions he gave in October, 1809, for the defence of positions at Lisbon, which led to the formation of the lines of Torres Vedras, said: The grand

object that should be had in view, for the defence of Portugal, was the possession of Lisbon and the Tagus, and that all their measures should be directed to that end.

I think he might have included Oporto, but there were *political* reasons for his not doing so. The people of Oporto, as a rule, were Liberal, and when constitutional opposition was not sufficient for over strong and other ministerial measures, they would have recourse to arms, assisted by the Liberals of Lisbon and of other portions of the country. As a matter of course, the Portonians would put our glorious old lines and batteries of 1832-3 in a state of defence. After the serious doings in Portugal in 1846, when England, France, and Spain were called upon to put down a fiercely-raging civil war, the year following the lines and batteries of Oporto were destroyed by order of the Government.

CHAPTER XVI.

JULY 1ST TO 14TH.

Miguelite plans to drive us out of Oporto—Our view of the subject—Palmerston and Talleyrand favour Donna Maria—Author goes over the bar for a change; Eclipse of the moon; Returns with despatches to Oporto—Treasure-trove—Crosbie resigns—Miguelite attack, 5th July; Duvergier mortally wounded; treason; a corporal shot; Saldanha's charge; made Lieutenant-General; Official account of defence—Miguelite version of their defeat—Author goes to Lordello with Rockets—9th, news that Napier had taken Miguelite fleet; more than three cheers for Charley Napier—Details of Dom Pedro offering terms to the enemy; not received—We prepare for the worst—Bourmont and staff land at Villa do Conde and join Dom Miguel—Want in Miguelite army—Anxiety in Oporto—Pedroites at Setubal—Official and other details of Napier's great naval victory; he is made Conde de Cabo S. Vicente—Captain Elliot, R.N.; his support of Dom Miguel only got as far as Gravesend!

JULY 1*st*.—Heard much firing of artillery in the Miguelite camp—they were exercising their field-pieces. We had positive information that Dom Miguel and his councillors had for days past been most seriously discussing how they were to use us up or drive us out of Oporto. The decision arrived at was, to bombard the city heavily for at least three days and nights. Some impression might have been made by their firing shot and shell for a week, attacking our lines at the same time, but especially on the west, to disable our batteries there and cut off our communication with the Foz; to go savagely at Lordello, which would have made Shaw and his Scotch in particular

fight like very devils; and the pipers, they would have made the bagpipes screech.

We had stood their bombarding so long that we had but little respect for their shot, and felt, if we could not get out of the city comfortably, the enemy could not easily get in. With their superior numbers, and the whole country open to them, there must have been strange military mismanagement—too many wishing to command, too few ready to obey; too many "ojalateros," or those who were waiting for Providence or Nosso Senhor de Matozinhos to assist. Still I felt that up to the present time Oporto had been wonderfully preserved, thanks to its handful of ever-ready defenders.

We now heard that Palmerston and Talleyrand had been putting their heads together in favour of Donna Maria; for this, thanks to Palmella. Seeing there would be no fighting for a day or so, and wishing for a change, I got leave and accompanied Captain Bertrand (Pryce) to the Foz, embarking with him and others at night. On crossing the bar we got some musket shot from works on the Cabedelo or Sandy point, opposite the Foz. Now the shot would go over us, now strike the boat, when one came slap at the back of the master of a vessel, who was going to his craft. He roared out lustily, "I'm shot." The only consolation he got was, "The devil you are—don't kick up a row—lie down in the boat;" when our crew pulled away for their very lives. The howler in the bottom of the boat had only got a slight flesh wound. The swell and tide ran strong against us, but we fetched a Hamburg vessel. I afterwards got on board the 'Edward,' Captain Hunter, who was an acquaintance of my old and respected friend, Mr. James Epps, the then Secretary of the Astronomical Society of London.

There were from eighty to ninety sail of merchantmen off the Douro, many laden with provisions. His Majesty's 74-gun ship 'Talavera' was off the bar. From this offing I had a good view of the Miguelite lines and batteries towards the coast, and took bearings of them. The city was bombarded in the evening. The next day Captain Hunter gave me a famous supply of all sorts of good things, for which I was indeed most thankful, particularly for the groceries, and some fine old rum. At night I got on board our schooner, the 'Liberal,' and from her into a launch laden with feijoes—haricot beans—a sort of victuals, drink, bed, and billet to the poorer Portuguese. We were rolling about outside until 11 p.m., when, somewhat under the shade of an eclipse of the moon, we crossed the bar to the Foz. A few musket shots were fired at us, but as we had made a rampart and covered way with the sacks of beans, cases, and casks, there were no casualties. I had despatches just arrived from the south handed to me when on board the 'Liberal,' for the Marquis of Loulé, and proceeded to head-quarters at once to deliver them.

On the morning of the 4th there were orders for a general review, which looked as if serious business was on hand. I was with my rocketers at the Serio, and whilst there, there was a find of gold coin worth £2200, which was taken to the treasury. Some of us wished we had dropped upon the hidden treasure. We now heard all the church bells ringing merrily, and soon got the news that the 'Marquis of Waterford' steamer had come from the squadron with the information that a portion of the Algarves had declared for Donna Maria II., and that 3000 Miguelites of all arms had joined her standard. This was cheering, and held out a hope that we might soon get out of the huge pest-house we were then in. I was sorry to hear

that Captain Crosbie had sent in his resignation, which was accepted. On some point of etiquette Colonel Duvergier had caused Crosbie to be placed under arrest, and the latter considering that he had been badly treated by Duvergier, said that "Napoleon might have made him a soldier, but he could not make him a gentleman." This was rather too blunt of the fire-eating, but kind and simple-hearted, sailor.

On the 5th there was an attack, particularly on the lines of Lordello and Campanha. Whilst quietly at work at my plan, and at about 1 p.m., I heard firing in the direction of the Van Zeller battery. My rocket arrangements were just in the rear, so off I started to Monte Branco, got all in readiness to use the larger rockets from the stand, and laid a platoon of smaller ones on the edge of a breastwork. There was some sharp firing in front of Van Zeller and at Lordello, but what the enemy really meant to do we, in our position, could not divine; indeed, General Saldanha who was pushing about the lines on the left with the greatest activity, met Crosbie and told him he could not make out what the enemy wanted to be up to. One thing was certain, we were well on our guard. During the afternoon rather a large number of our wounded passed me at Monte Branco.

I went to Lordello and found that the Scotch had commenced the affair by having a rare scrimmage with a reconnoitring party, and then the fighting became pretty general on the whole left. There were some casualties among the Scotch Fusiliers; however, they looked in a high state of exhilaration. I was dismissed at 7 p.m., and on going to my quarters met Dom Pedro and his staff coming from the N.E. lines, and heard that Duvergier, then a brigadier-general, and Colonel Pimentel, who had

fought like lions, had been very badly wounded. We heard there was only one gun in the Van Zeller Quinta battery, under a sergeant who was absent, so it was in charge of a corporal. When the enemy was coming on he got confused and spiked his gun; on this becoming known to the authorities he was at once shot. It was also reported that the corporal had been seen to wave a white handkerchief as a signal to the enemy; if so he deserved his fate. The sergeant had deserted to the enemy. There was evidently a little treason going on.

Sir Charles Shaw informs me that on the 5th the enemy's staff officers, under strong escort, were taking plans, evidently for a serious assault, and placing marks for the advance of their columns; also that Lord George Paulet, of H.M.S. 'Nautilus,' and Captain Dundas had narrow escapes in visiting the lines of Lordello that day.

Badcock observes*:—"At 1 p.m. the Miguelites commenced their attack, first on Lordello, soon extending to the right, making a strong effort to take the Quinta Van Zeller. Duvergier charged at the head of the French, but they were repulsed; he lost his arm and died in consequence on the 24th. The enemy attacked Bomfim, possessing themselves of the picket-house; but Saldanha and his staff charged at the head of some cavalry and drove them back. A cannonade was kept up on the city the whole of the time. Saldanha was made a lieutenant-general and Pimentel a colonel. Had the Miguelites made a more determined attack, either at Bomfim or Lordello, they might have succeeded in establishing themselves at both these points."

* "Civil War."

OFFICIAL REPORT.

The Miguelites had increased their army on the north, and reported to their men that Napier had gone with a force to the Azores, so that the defenders of Oporto were much diminished in numbers. After midday, they advanced in force on Lordello. Dom Pedro, without loss of time, went to Carvalhido, where he got together a reserve to assist the pickets and supports at the Fabrica de Antunes. He then went to the battery of Ramada Alta, where he witnessed the splendid defence of his troops, who disputed ground with the greatest courage. Saldanha was most energetic and active in giving effect to Dom Pedro's orders. The enemy left its intrenchments in two columns of 900 men each, advancing rapidly on the right of Lordello, between the Quinta of Van Zeller and the Casa do Placido, with a view of cutting off our connection with the Foz. The left column managed to get into a part of the Fabrica de Antunes, where there was a picket of the 15th Regiment, which had to retire, when Captain Pedroso of the same regiment advanced with two companies and dislodged the enemy from the Fabrica. The second column attacked the lines protected by the 15th to the left of the Fabrica; but they were repelled, losing 48 in killed and 10 prisoners, although they had the protection of their Serralves, Furada, and Verdinho batteries (the two latter on the other side of the river).

The enemy now tried to outflank the Van Zeller position, but Dom Pedro had prepared for this emergency. Colonel Moura's reserve of four companies of the Rainha regiment under Major Millinet, posted before Carvalhido, and that of Major Torrezão's two companies of the 9th, were ordered to occupy the ground between Carvalhido and Quinta Van Zeller having on their left a reserve of four companies; this force was sustained by two squadrons of Bacon's lancers and Guides (cavalry) in the rear.

The four companies of Millinet advanced upon the enemy, which had fortified itself in the house of the Quinta of Prelada, and, assisted by the fire of the batteries of Ramada Alta, Gloria, and St. Paulo, drove the enemy from the Prelada, and occupied it. The enemy was also dislodged from the village of Francos by the Belgians.

At 3.30 p.m., the Miguelites advanced upon Monte Pedral, sending forward 200 skirmishers. Then came on 600 men, divided into three small columns. One posted itself in the village of Regado, another on the Braga road, and the last on Paranhos. The pickets of the Liberals in advance of the Monte Pedral redoubt were driven in, but being reinforced they advanced and took up their original positions, whilst the fire from the batteries of Monte Pedral, Gloria, and Cobello drove the enemy back into their lines.

Dom Pedro being in the Gloria battery, anxiously observing the move-

ments upon Monte Pedral and Lordello, was informed by telegraph that three columns of the enemy were crossing the Douro from the south, and that there were indications of an attack on the Antas, as also on the extreme right at Campanha. He moved off at once to the Congregados battery where he could better observe and give his orders.

At 5 p.m., three columns of attack appeared on the right of the Liberal lines, sending forward skirmishers by the side of the river, in advance of Campanha and Vallongo, the columns directing their attack upon the Campanha and Lomba batteries, charging impetuously the Liberal pickets and driving them in upon their reserves. The enemy was now in possession of the picket stations of the Liberals, having passed to the extreme right of the lines. The Liberals here, who were composed of two companies of the 12th Caçadores under Colonel Mesquita, a party of sailors under Lieutenant Couceiro, two light companies of the Rainha under Major Pimentel, and a company of the Fixos volunteers under Major Barros now advanced smartly upon the Fabrica of Solla without firing a shot, and at the point of the bayonet charged the large force of the enemy, causing them much loss and driving them from the positions they had taken, in great disorder, into their own lines.

A column of the enemy posted in an attacking attitude in front of the Antas advanced, but were beaten back with loss by the fire from the battery and the muskets of a party of the 5th Caçadores and two companies of Fixos volunteers.

Whilst this fighting was going on on the north side of the river, 200 peasants appeared in front of the Serra Convent with sledge-hammers, pickaxes, and shovels, covered by a line of skirmishers. But Torres was so well prepared for his assailants that they never got to his works.

The Liberals lost 150 in killed and wounded, 15 being officers. The enemy, under the command of the Conde San Lorenzo, lost about 100 killed and 300 wounded.

Saldanha was in his glory; his energy in defence of the trying position in which we were placed could not be equalled. He himself called this "another day of glory for the Queen's army." Dom Pedro, having sent his warmest acknowledgments to all engaged, returned to his quarters at 9 p.m.

During the defence, a woman, Maria Theresa, the wife of Mathias Campos, a soldier of the 15th, independently of tending the wounded, and carrying water to the soldiers when under fire, took to the advanced posts sixteen barrels

of ammunition, and, so that the soldiers should load without loss of time, bit off the ends of the cartridges for them. Dom Pedro ordered that this brave woman should receive rations and pay until the end of the war.

About a hundred of the French were brought to Oporto from the Algarves. On landing there with Terceira they had committed all sorts of excesses. They were sent off in disgrace back to France.

On the 6th I dined on board His Britannic Majesty's steamer 'Echo,' when I heard the Miguelite version of the attack of the previous day, namely, that the Lordello pickets commenced firing, when the enemy collected their troops on several points, including Lordello and Bomfim, and lost a good number of their men.

On the 7th, hearing there was firing about Van Zeller Quinta, I posted off to Monte Branco, remaining there all day. In advance of the Foz the enemy was filling up trenches, removing stockades, and bringing up scaling ladders. Reinforcements were coming into their northern lines.

On the 9th, we were in momentary expectation of a general attack. I had moved the rockets to Lordello; my old friend B—— joined me, and having found among the lancers some real rocketers, Colonel Bacon kindly lent them to me.

All of a sudden, we heard the bells of the city ring. We felt at once we knew the cause, and we were right. Like wild fire the news flew round our lines. A steamer had come from our squadron—the fleets had met—"Napier had taken the 'Dom João' and the 'Rainha,' line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and a corvette; the others had bolted." Did we not give Charley Napier the loudest cheers ever heard, and drained every bottle we could get hold of to

him and his men. This was a glorious day for Donna Maria's cause.

Badcock says :—" I proceeded to the naval signal-post at Villar, when His Majesty's frigate 'Conway' made the signal that Dom Miguel's fleet was taken. I carried this intelligence to the Emperor, who received it with the greatest joy and embraced me. A flag of truce was now sent off to the Miguelites, with a letter, offering amnesty to those who would leave Dom Miguel, and calling upon them to surrender. The flag of truce was of course refused, but a copy of the letter was immediately dispatched to England, and the Emperor's magnanimity and humanity were extolled in all the papers at the very time when it was not unlikely that he would have to seek pardon for himself and followers." (?) Dom Miguel was now well aware of the want of enthusiasm in his men. He tried to persuade them that the news of the taking of his fleet was a fabrication, and severe punishment was ordered for those who spoke of this disaster having occurred.

The Conde de Rilvas, Portuguese Secretary of Legation, London, gave me the following, in 1867 :—

On the 9th July, 1833, in consequence of the news received of the successes of the Duke of Terceira and taking of the Miguelite fleet, the Emperor sent his aide-de-camp, Simão de Calça e Pina (afterwards Conde de Rilvas), under a flag of truce, to the enemy's camp with the following letter :—

To His Excellency Count São Lourenço.

The Government of Her Most Faithful Majesty, authorised by His Imperial Majesty the Duke of Braganza, in the name of the Queen sends the following information to Your Excellency :—

1st.—That the expeditionary division of this army, having appeared in the Algarves, where their landing met with no opposition, the towns

in that kingdom hastened to recognise and proclaim the rights of Her Most Faithful Majesty Donna Maria II.

2nd.—That the said division has been reinforced by the troops that had not accompanied Viscount de Mollelos, who, with a few men, fled from before the said division, which followed him up, and that, on its entrance into the Alentejo, not only Beja and the Campo Ourique, but also a great portion of the people as far as Evora, followed the example of the Algarves.

3rd.—That the Queen has been proclaimed on the right bank of the Tagus, at Punhete, Barquinha, Thomar, and afterwards at Coruche, whilst on the left bank many places recognised with enthusiasm the august sovereign.

4th.—That in the direction of Castello-Branco, the same feeling was unfolding itself in the towns of Lower Beira and in Estremadura, whilst Golega, Santarem, and other places were similarly disposed.

5th.—Finally, by the news received this day, the fleet of Her Most Faithful Majesty the Queen of Portugal has conquered that of the usurpation, and has made prizes of two line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and one corvette.

These facts should show clearly to Your Excellency that the reign of the usurpation is at an end, and that this is the moment to reunite all the Portuguese under one only and legitimate flag.

His Imperial Majesty desires nothing so much as this. The promises made by him in his manifesto, and up to this time religiously observed, guaranteed to all those who joined him personal security and possession of their rightful property—promises that His Imperial Majesty again confirms to all classes of Portuguese implicated in this unfortunate war. No more blood should now be shed in disputing about a cause in the face of the last-stated facts. His Imperial Majesty has ordered us to make known to Your Excellency that the time has arrived for all good men, laying aside opinions and caprices, to unite with the end of desisting from still tearing the country to pieces.

His Imperial Majesty will have the greatest consideration for those who at this decisive moment may use their influence in assisting in so benign a union amongst our fellow-citizens, who, by whatever principles they have been disunited, are in every case Portuguese.

His Imperial Majesty finally charges us to bring to Your Excellency's consideration that, if these his views are not attended to, His Imperial Majesty will cause to fall upon Your Excellency, and upon the other chiefs of your army, the responsibility of all the blood that may from this day forward be shed, as accomplices of a mad pertinacity; they will fall

under the odium of Portuguese of all political opinions, the indignation of Europe, and the horror of all civilised nations.

Should Your Excellency, as it is hoped, give to this communication its proper consideration, His Imperial Majesty will depute a person with whom Your Excellency, in the name of the other general officers and individuals of the army, may arrange all in regard to the views expressed.

(Signed) Candido Jose Xavier.
Jose da Silva Carvalho Marques Loulé.
Agostinho Jose Freire.

Palace of Porto, 9th July, 1833.

The printed copy appeared in No. 25 of the *Periodico dos Pobres* of the 26th August, 1833, where is also found the account of Calça e Pina's mission, addressed to His Imperial Majesty:—

Imperial Head Quarters.

Sire,—Your Imperial Majesty having sent me to the enemy's camp the 9th of the present month, with a flag of truce, the bearer of a letter to Conde de São Lourenço, commander-in-chief of the rebel army, I left this city about 4 p.m., proceeding to Paranhos, when, having arrived at the first pickets of the enemy, I announced to the officer in command the object of my mission; he asked me whether I wished to hand him my letter, or personally be the bearer of it; I replied that I would take it.

I was accompanied by the officer of the picket to the interior of the lines, to the superior officer of the day, but was not received by him until some time had elapsed—time sufficient to communicate my arrival to Conde de São Lourenço: the officer came afterwards to tell me that I must remain where I was and await the instructions of His Excellency; this I did, being always in company with the said superior officer of the day, until there arrived an aide-de-camp, who asked me what I wanted. I told him the object of my mission: he replied, that His Excellency the Conde de São Lourenço had already informed the Senhor Dom Miguel of my arrival, in consequence of which the aide-de-camp would go and take His Excellency's orders. The officer went and returned in a quarter of an hour, accompanied by another aide-de-camp, who also asked me what I wanted, or what was my business, and if I came on any mission for the King; I replied in the negative, that I had nothing to do with Dom Miguel, but that my mission was to hand a letter from Your Imperial Majesty to the Conde de São Lourenço. He said that it was necessary to go after a receipt to give me for the taking of the letter. He left, and in a short time returned with the reply that the Conde de São Lourenço had nothing to do with Dom Pedro, consequently he would not receive his letter; at this I

said, that, as I could not compel the receipt of the letter, I would take it back to Your Imperial Majesty. From the short space of time in which this officer went and returned with the last decision, I presume the Conde de São Lourenço, and probably Dom Miguel, were in the neighbouring valley.

Finally, the aide-de-camp, Champalimaud, came to the conclusion that the officer in command I had met at the first picket mistook me for a foreign officer, the bearer of papers to Dom Miguel, or for His Excellency, and it was only on account of this mistake I had been allowed to pass, and that the officer would be punished; that I might retire, which I did, accompanied by the two aide-de-camps to within a short distance of the advanced posts, and to the videttes by a sergeant.

All the time I was in the enemy's camp I was accompanied by many soldiers of various corps and some officers, but none of these dared speak to me. I may also state to Your Imperial Majesty that the soldiers looked rather crest-fallen, and the officers very sullen and dejected. God guard Your Imperial Majesty.

(Signed) Simao de Calca e Pina,
Your Imperial Majesty's Aide-de-camp.

Porto, 9th July, 1833.

Proclamation of Dom Pedro to the inhabitants of Oporto, on Napier's taking the Miguelite fleet, the 5th July, 1833.

Portonians! It is a year this day since, at the head of a brave army, I entered the walls of your city; and on the anniversary of that day, by favour of Providence, the arms of the Queen have been crowned by a complete victory over the rebel fleet.

On this same day, the 5th of July, when our army was performing prodigies of valour in our own lines, the enemy's fleet was shattered in front of Cape St. Vincent. Two line-of-battle ships, two frigates, and a corvette fell into our hands.

Portonians! Your labours have come to an end. The fruit of so many sorrows and sacrifices is now within your grasp.

Your perseverance and the noble cause of Portuguese regeneration have triumphed. Viva the squadron! Viva the Liberating Army! Viva the noble city of Oporto!

Dom Pedro, Duke of Bragança.

Palace, 9th July, 1833.

On the 10th I placed in the care of Captain Otway, of H.M.S. 'Echo,' my plans and papers, directed to

—— ——, for I felt sure we were going to have a death-struggle from one day to another with all Dom Miguel's forces, and under a well-known soldier, Marshal Bourmont, who would have with him many French officers. I did this upon the principle that those who are prepared to die are fit to live.

The doings of two sieges came strongly before me—that of the merciless Russian, Suwarro, in 1790, at the siege of Ismael, when he butchered 30,000 men and 6000 women in cold blood; that of the siege of Scio, in 1822, when the Turks committed the most horrible massacre of modern times—the slaughter lasted ten days, when 40,000 of both sexes fell victims to the sword; whilst 30,000 young women and boys were sold as slaves!

Bourmont might be successful in his attack, and while he himself would probably wish to be merciful to the conquered soldiery and inhabitants, I did not look for any quarter whatever from the Miguelite Portuguese.

Great anxiety* was expressed by some of the English who lived in the city, and many arguments were used to induce each other to quit it. None but fools, it was said, or madmen, would expose themselves to bombardment, pestilence, and famine. But having valuable property at stake, they remained firm. As to the ladies, they were the *best men* of the garrison; they gave no trouble with *their* fears, for, in honest truth, they betrayed none.

Pickets were occasionally firing, otherwise all was pretty quiet. I now took up my quarters at the Casa Blanca, at Lordello.

On the 11th, all were under arms during the day. A number of proclamations came from the other side in

* "Civil War," p. 215.

empty shells, offering amnesty to those who would desert. A couple of field-pieces reinforced my position.

During the evening my old friend B—— fired some rockets from the Van Zeller battery; and I sent a few at a picket-house, just to get our hands in and study range, for which the Serralves battery in our front returned a few round shot.

On the 13th a deserter from the 5th Miguelite regiment of infantry came over to us at Lordello. He was in a ragged and miserable state. We learnt from him that our opponents had suffered much on the score of starvation. He asked to be taken to head-quarters, where he doubtless gave important information, for I saw him in the city in the evening with a new uniform, and a moidore (about a guinea) had been given to him. He appeared delighted to be in Oporto, and said he was now going to be "home de bem"—a good man, *i.e.*, a Pedroite.

This information may have been that Marshal Bourmont and staff heard, when off Viana, of the defeat of Dom Miguel's fleet. Bourmont landed on the 12th at Villa de Conde, and joined Dom Miguel on the 13th.

Bourmont had risen to be one of Napoleon's generals; he had an important command at the battle of Waterloo, and must have been a man of military merit. However, there was the story of his desertion (or "voluntarily surrendering") of Bonaparte at Waterloo, and transferring his services to the Bourbons. Still, in July, 1830, he had successfully attacked Algiers and deposed the Dey, overthrowing his barbarian government, with a good sack of the place.

Sunday, 14th.—The Miguelites appeared to be reconnoitring in different directions.

On the 15th the enemy burnt the brushwood in advance

of our lines, so as to prevent ambush and facilitate their approach. We could also perceive ladders being taken about their lines. Escalading was intended. The next day they were massing troops towards Lordello in particular.

We got information that some of Terceira's men were at Setubal, a little to the south of the Tagus; also that guerillas were operating against the enemy up the Douro.

The *Chronica* of the 10th gave official details of Napier's victory, from which I make extracts :—

Admiral Napier, Viscount Cape St. Vincent, on the memorable 5th July, 1833, with inferior forces, having in the waters of Cape St. Vincent gained a brilliant victory over the fleet of the usurper of the Portuguese throne, and I, wishing in the name of the Queen, as well as national gratitude, to perpetuate the memory of so illustrious an act, and of the Admiral's frigate, 'Rainha de Portugal,' which so much distinguished itself, I decree the following :—

1st.—The frigate, 'Rainha de Portugal' shall henceforth be always kept in commission, in memory of the victory of the 5th July.

2nd.—That on two brass plates the present decree shall be engraved, with the number of the forces on board the three frigates, corvette, brig, and schooner composing the fleet of Her Most Faithful Majesty; as well as those of the two line-of-battle ships, two frigates, three corvettes, two brigs, and a felucca composing the rebel fleet. That the names of the Admiral, Conde Cabo de S. Vincent, the officers, and other persons of the 'Rainha de Portugal,' and of the other vessels, shall be engraved thereon. One of these shall be placed in the cabin, and the other on the mainmast of the 'Rainha de Portugal.'

3rd.—The heading to the above shall be as follows .—"The Queen, the Portuguese nation, and the Duke of Braganza are grateful to those brave men who fought the brilliant naval victory of the 5th July, 1833."

Dom Pedro, Duke of Bragança.

Marquis of Loulé.

Palace in Oporto, 14th July.

The above and other unpleasant information was sent into the Miguelite camps by tying our newspapers to rocket sticks.

ADMIRAL NAPIER'S DISPATCH.

On board the frigate, 'Rainha de Portugal,'
Bay of Lagos, 6th June, 1833.

God has been pleased to allow the squadron of Her Most Faithful Majesty to gain a great and glorious victory over the enemy, which I met (under Admiral Marcelino) on the 2nd inst., at Cape St. Vincent, the squadron under my command having left Lagos Bay the previous night. The enemy's fleet was composed of two line-of-battle ships, two frigates, three corvettes, two brigs, and a felucca—in all, ten vessels; that of Donna Maria II. of three frigates, one corvette, one brig, and one small schooner —in all, six vessels.

I sent the brig 'Villa-Flor' to Lagos for the steamers, which came to me that night. During the 3rd and 4th there was much sea on, which rendered my boarding the enemy impracticable—a mode of attack I had decided to adopt. On the morning of the 5th it calmed a little. I had hoped that the steamers (merchant) would have given me great assistance, but, with the exception of the 'William IV.,' the others did not show themselves disposed to lend their help, and the engineers and crews positively refused to come near to the enemy, insisting on two thousand pounds each before entering into action. I must do justice to Mr. Bell that he did all in his power to induce them to co-operate.

I put the squadron under my command to windward of the enemy, which was formed in close line of battle, under easy sail. The two line-of-battle ships of the enemy were first, then the two frigates, the three corvettes and the two brigs being a little to leeward.

I explained to my captains that my intention was to attack the 'Rainha' line-of-battle ship, with the Admiral's frigate, and the frigate 'Dom Pedro.' The 'Princeza Real' I destined for the frigate 'Donna Maria II.'; the frigate 'Martim de Freitas,' to the 'Portuense' and the 'Villa-Flor'—abandoning the line-of-battle ship 'Dom João VI.' (the Admiral's) to my smaller vessels.

At 2 p.m. Her Majesty's squadron having united, they directed themselves to their respective posts, and having got to within musket shot, the enemy opened a terrible fire from their whole line, with the exception of the 'Dom João VI.' the guns of which they could not bring to bear. We suffered much in our sails and rigging, and lost many men; notwithstanding which we continued our course, replying to the fire of the enemy's vessels whilst we were passing by them. We approached the line-of-battle ship 'Rainha,' which had got a little ahead. We put ourselves alongside of her to windward, boarding her with all our people.

The enemy could not resist our boarding, although we had some difficulty in accomplishing it, defending themselves with bravery. I am sorry to say that we suffered severely. Captain Reeves, second in command of this ship, and Captain Charley, my adjutant, were, I believe, the first to board (the first received three wounds, one of them severe, and the other five). I followed immediately with my officers and men. Captain George, who served as a volunteer, and Lieutenant Wooldridge, were killed. Lieutenant Edwards, and Mr. Winter, my secretary, were severely wounded. Lieutenants Liott and Collis and myself were the only officers who escaped unhurt. As the boarders sprang into the vessel they ran to our help, and in about five minutes the ship was ours.

Lieutenant Liott and a party took charge of the prize, and my flagship made all sail in pursuit of the 'Dom João VI.'

Our rigging and canvas were much cut about. However, owing to the great efforts of Captain Phillips, master of the fleet, who now took command of the 'Rainha' frigate, the top-sails were shifted, halyards repaired, and stays secured, consequently we were enabled to progress, and were close upon the 'Dom João VI.,' the frigate 'Dom Pedro' being ahead of us, when the Miguelite Admiral, without firing a shot, struck his flag, as all his officers and crew refused to fight. The three corvettes and two brigs ran off before the wind, and I assure Your Excellency that it was not in my power to prevent their escape.

Whilst I was attacking the 'Rainha,' the frigate 'Donna Maria II.,' Captain Henry, bravely boarded and took the frigate 'Princeza Real.' Captain Henry informs me that his officers and men did all that could be desired; but he has to lament the loss of his lieutenant, Mr. Moore, who was killed.

The frigate 'Martim Freitas' (Maia e Cardozo) was too powerful for the 'Villa-Flor' and 'Portuense,' and although they greatly damaged the frigate by bringing down its foremast, and otherwise crippling her, she got away before the wind.

I left the frigate 'Dom Pedro' to take account of the 'Dom João VI.,' and chased the 'Martim Freitas,' which lowered her flag to me before sunset. I have the honour to be Your Excellency's obedient servant.

(Signed) Charles Ponza (Napier).

P.S.—The corvette 'Princeza Real' came and gave herself up this morning, and is now at anchor under my command.*

* Huggins, the marine painter, published an engraving of the action, under date July 24th, 1834.

LOSS IN KILLED AND WOUNDED.

'Rainha de Portugal.'

Killed.	*Wounded.*
F. G. Macdonough (George), capt.	James Wilkinson, commodore, severely.
Frank Wooldridge,* lieutenant, and six seamen.	Charles Napier, chief of staff, severely.
	Lieut. Gidney, severely.
	,, Knyvett, R.M., mortally.
	,, Winter, secy., dangerously.
	,, Edmunds, mortally, and seventeen seamen.

'Dom Pedro.'

Thomas Goble, captain.	Charles Stanhope, captain marines, severely; since dead.
Six seamen and marines.	John Powell, mate, and twenty seamen and marines.

'Donna Maria.'

John Moore, sailing lieutenant, and three men.	Sixteen seamen and marines.

'Villa-Flor.'

	Five seamen.

'Portuense.'

Captain Blackistone.	Lieutenant Purver, and four or five killed and wounded.

Napier had left Oporto on the 20th June. He reconnoitred Figueras; showed himself off Peniche; then off the Rock of Lisbon; the 23rd, at night, he rounded Cape St. Vincent; 24th, passed Lagos, Faro, and Tavira, and at 5 p.m. anchored in Cacella Bay. Terceira and the troops were landed before midnight. This was quick work.

* See p. 48.—For his determination on 29th September, 1832.

On the 25th Terceira marched upon Tavira, arriving at noon, the squadron anchoring at same time. On the 27th, Terceira entered Faro, the squadron moving also. Palmella landed and established a provisional government. Terceira marched on the town of Loulé. On the 30th Napier anchored in Lagos Bay. July the 2nd he sailed from Lagos to await his enemy. On the 3rd two sail reported; then three, then four, and so on until nine were counted. Napier says:—"I was surprised . . . . delighted; but the delight was accompanied with a disagreeable sort of feeling, resembling the sensation of your heart coming up into your mouth, and requiring a tolerable gulp to keep it down." . . . On the 5th the enemy reserved fire till within musket shot . . . the frigate opened her broadside, which was followed by the whole squadron, with the exception of the 'Dom John' . . . notwithstanding the most tremendous fire I ever witnessed, which made the sea bubble like a boiling cauldron round her, the smoke clearing away discovered to the astonished Miguelites we were proudly floating. . . . The frigate flew to . . . we ran alongside under heavy fire. The ships were lashed with the main-sheet, Wilkinson and Captain C. Napier heading the boarders. I (the Admiral) found myself on the enemy's forecastle . . . . we rushed aft with a loud cheer . . . . the quarter-deck was now gained, but the slaughter continued . . . . the main-deck gave in. In a few minutes all was quiet. . . . . Captain Peak, in the 'Donna Maria,' passed under the 50-gun frigate's stern, raked her, luffed-to, and, after a few broadsides, ran his bowsprit into her mizen-rigging, and carried her in gallant style. Thus finished the action of the 5th July. . . . . It has been said that the fleet was bought. I answer that it was, but with the same coin that Earl St. Vincent

bought the Spanish fleet, viz., British powder, shot, and steel wielded by the hands of British officers and seamen. By midnight we were in full sail for Lagos Bay." Here he was congratulated by Terceira, Palmella, and Mendizabal. On the 13th Napier and fleet sailed for Lisbon, the 'Dom John' bearing his flag, keeping close to the coast so as to aid Terceira on his march north. Napier observes :—"We had 176 guns against 372, and they were thrashed. It is not for me to comment on this action; I shall leave that to the world, simply observing that at no time was a naval action fought with such a disparity of force, and in no naval action was there ever so severe a loss in so short a time."

Cholera appeared in the fleet; it continued for a week; out of 200 taken ill, 50 died.*

From Mr. Williams's notes, who was on board the 'Donna Maria,' I append the following :—

Great had been the sufferings of the besieged in Oporto up to the end of May. All had assumed the most gloomy aspect, when a sudden gleam of sunshine burst forth by the arrival of Captain Napier, the beginning of June, with reinforcements of officers, men, and some money. They

* Napier, in his "Account of the War," states :—It appeared by the correspondence of Saraiva, Dom Miguel's agent in London, to Viscount Santarem, that great exertions had been made in London by the friends of Dom Miguel to support his cause, and the very people who were crying out against interference were doing all in their power to assist him. Captain Elliot, R.N., had been to Lisbon, and made arrangements with Dom Miguel's ministers to assume the command of his fleet, and had actually embarked on board the 'United Kingdom' steamer, 500 seamen, and a host of officers, accompanied by bands of music, &c.; and promises had been made that the fleet should not sail from the Tagus till his arrival. The Government, however, trusting in their strength, sent the squadron out to prevent, if possible, the Pedroites carrying all before them in the Algarves; and the successes of the 5th July saved Elliot the reproach of coming out to fight his countrymen—for the news arrived in London the day previous to that appointed for his sailing, and the cruise finished at Gravesend.

came in several steamers, the 'Lord of the Isles' being one. Napier made arrangements with Dom Pedro for paying the squadron, before he took charge of it from Sartorius—also for his future operations. Admiral Sartorius took his leave of the squadron universally regretted by all who had had the honour of sailing under him. It was well known he had been badly treated during the greater part of his command.

Soon after Napier had taken command, the 'Eugenie,' commander Wilson, on its way south, got stranded at night at Peniche. The officer of the watch appears to have altered the course given. He threw the colours overboard, neglecting to attach a heavy weight, when they were washed up on the beach. At daylight the Pedroites were thus betrayed to the garrison, and fire opened upon the vessel. The commander and crew landed under a flag of truce, and were made prisoners. The officers were hurried off to Lisbon, the crew kept there. Napier lost no time in sending to the rescue. The squadron was brought to anchor in a bay south of Peniche. The governor was told that a force had been landed to the north, and was marching on the place; that ere it appeared before the town a simultaneous attack would be made in front, rear, and flank, unless the prisoners were surrendered. The governor in the darkness of the night decamped. Some of his men, whilst running away, fired through the bars of the prison, wounding several of our poor fellows. We soon released our men.

Napier was most active in drill at the great guns. He issued an order that the drummer and fifer in beating to general quarters should, till further orders, play "Hurrah for the bonnets so blue," objecting to the customary air of "Come, cheer up, my lads," and at the end of each verse "We always are ready." "Now," said he, "I do not consider that we are always ready until we have a little more drill."

The result of the five nights' embarkation of troops from Oporto was only one boat-load. At daylight the Admiral signalled "Only one boat off with troops. This is not the way to serve the cause of the Queen." This had the required effect. We made sail to the south the 20th June, it being generally thought by the enemy that the river Mondego was our destination, the object of the troops being to attack Coimbra. We pushed on, landing Terceira at Cacella, N.E. of Faro. Many of the Miguelite soldiers had been withdrawn from this district to serve in front of Oporto, consequently guerillas only were met with, mostly armed with pikes or poles with rusty bayonets affixed. Several deserted to us. We anchored at Lagos, when a smart fire was interchanged, soon resulting in driving the Miguelites from their guns, whilst our land forces took possession of the town. In a few days the enemy tried a night attack upon Lagos, when we landed the marines. The check was sharp and decisive. Our side made a sortie and dispersed the enemy.

About the 1st July, many of the officers and men took advantage of this their first chance, for some months, to go on shore to replenish their sea-stock. Scarcely had we finished purchasing, when a gun was heard. Then we saw the squadron with top-sails and top-gallant sails to the mast-head, cables short apeak, and the Blue Peter at the fore. Two or three of us got off in the commander's gig. Many of our messmates and all the sea-stock was left behind. The squadron weighed and stood out to sea. It seemed that a clipper fruit schooner had been sent from Lisbon by some friendly merchants or by some officer in the English squadron to tell Napier that the Miguelite fleet had put to sea in search of us. It also appeared that Admiral Parker had, as on previous occasions, sent one of his brigs out with the Miguelite fleet to watch their movements, when the 'Princeza Real' fired a round shot close across the brig's forecastle. With this hint the brig returned to the Tagus, reporting the insult. So the 'Donegal,' 74, and 'Castor,' 36, went at once to demand satisfaction.

Active preparations were made for our coming struggle, and many a keen eye was straining its utmost from the mast-heads, sweeping the distant horizon with the hope of gaining the first glimpse of the enemy, but night closed in without gratifying their hearts' desire.

In the morning watch all were anxious for the first gleam of early dawn, when a shout from the mast-head reported *one* sail, then *two* indistinctly seen in the far horizon. Then as day dawned the remainder gradually came in view, discovering our formidable antagonists, drawn up in double line of battle. There was too much sea on in the offing to admit of boarding, consequently the Admiral tried every stratagem to entice them up under the land—but all our coaxing was of no avail. It was now understood that it was resolved to await a calm to secure smooth water for boarding. At the same time the Admiral hoped to obtain the co-operation of the three merchant steamers, by offering the crews tempting inducements, including a share of prize-money. Had these proposals been agreed to, Napier purposed to lash a steamer alongside of his three frigates, and so attack the heavier of the enemy's ships singly with overpowering force, and thus secure them in detail.

ACTION OF THE FIFTH OF JULY.

The morning of this memorable day was ushered in by a dead calm, and a sea as smooth as glass. There lay the enemy a few miles off, perfectly helpless, whilst Napier was all activity with the crews of the three steamers, but he failed. They wanted £6000 down *in cash*. On this becoming known to the seamen of the squadron, they ran below, searched their chests for all the money they had, brought it on deck, and laid it on the capstan—but it was not enough.

Signal was made to prepare for action (without the steamers) as soon as the first breeze should spring up. Napier mustered the men on the quarter-deck, saying something like the following: "My determination is to take you alongside the enemy. You will get some hard knocks, but we will have them by boarding. There will be a considerable amount of prize-money. I will take you home to Portsmouth to spend it, where your wives and sweethearts will be eagerly waiting to receive you with open arms. Pipe down, boatswain." This was received with loud cheers. At noon the Admiral hoisted the dinner pennants, preferring that the men should fight on a full stomach. At 1.30 p.m. a cat's-paw was seen rippling the water to the north, or land side of us, thus placing us to windward of the foe. The breeze gradually strengthened, so as to give the ships way through the water. In a short time the 'Rainha,' (ours) passing under our (the 'Donna Maria's') lee, hailed our captain—"Are you ready for action?" The answer was, "Yes, and willing." The Admiral said, "Then you will go down and take the 50-gun frigate, the 'Princeza Real,' and disregard my movements." "Aye, aye, sir," was the reply, followed by three hearty cheers exchanged between the two frigates.

The Admiral gave orders this day for the drummer and fifer to beat to quarters with the old tune of "Come, cheer up, my lads," it being an acknowledgement that he now considered "they were ready."

The enemy's fleet was from fifteen to twenty miles south of Cape St. Vincent. Napier in the 'Rainha,' followed by the 'Dom Pedro,' bore down to engage. A general signal from the enemy's flag-ship was made to engage, when the roar of the cannonade became incessant, quickly enveloping them in smoke. Their fire was too rapid to be well-directed at such a distance, whilst the wind was too light for clearing the smoke away to allow of a good aim. The enemy's frigate "Martin de Freitas' (or Maia Cardozo), commanded by an American officer, directed his attention to our 'Rainha' and 'Dom Pedro,' but the guns of the latter could be trained upon that frigate, and a return fire well-directed commenced, soon resulting in the 'Martin de Freitas' losing her fore-topmast and sustaining damage to her rudder-head, thus rendering her helpless for manœuvring.

Our 'Rainha' and 'Dom Pedro' had prepared for the leviathan foe, the 'Rainha' of 76 guns, and the moment had arrived for running her on board to windward. Her broadside was delivered with a fearful crash as they grappled her, muzzle to muzzle. An instant later the 'Dom Pedro' poured her raking broadside with fearful effect as she rounded her enemy's stern, and this was the signal for our 'Rainha' to board. Three hearty cheers were given as the men were led on in three divisions.

Captains Wilkinson and Napier seem to have led the second division from the fore-chains, making good their footing amidst a murderous fire of small arms from the decks and tops.

The third division was led by Captain George (McDonough); he entered through the aftermost maindeck port, where he had to sustain, unsupported, a hand-to-hand unequal encounter. His body was found with seven musket balls through it; but, being a first-rate swordsman, there was evidence of his having fleshed his weapon in more than one opponent lying close around him; his sword told the tale of this isolated struggle. His men followed each other upward to the quarter-deck and poop cabins, driving all before them.

Napier with the first division had swarmed over the gangway on the upper deck, he making at once for the poop, and whilst in the act of ascending the ladder, a marine ran at him with musket raised to club him, when "Black Louis," his coxswain, a man of most powerful build, standing over six feet, seized the unlucky marine by the scruff of the neck and the slack of the trousers behind, raised him musket and all in the air as he would a toy, at the same time crying out to the Admiral, "I could lick a cow-pen full of them chaps;" then making for the after-companion dashed him down on to the maindeck.

The Admiral from the lee-quarter hailed Captain Goble of the 'Dom Pedro,' and gave him orders to make all sail ahead and take the 'Dom John,' 74. Goble, whilst receiving this order, was shot through the body, the fatal bullet being aimed from a lower deck port; he fell back mortally wounded. The next officer in command carried this order out most gallantly, and having made sail ahead of the 'Rainha,' the 'Dom Pedro' brought the 'Dom John' to close action on the lee side. By this time the colours of their 'Rainha' had been hauled down, and ours, the blue and white, bent on above, were triumphantly re-hoisted at each masthead. The 'Donna Maria' was now in deadly struggle with the 'Princeza Real;' and the 'Martin de Freitas,' not yet surrendered, was drifting to leeward. The disasters to the enemy's fleet must have produced a most serious depression on the officers and crew of the 'Dom John,' for on seeing that the 'Dom Pedro' was ranging closely up alongside, with the intention of boarding, she struck her colours. Thus fell two seventy-fours to two frigates, probably the first feat of the kind recorded in naval history.

The 'Donna Maria,' from the time of her first bearing-up, in order to close with the 'Princeza Real,' being nearly the whole time end on, was unable to bring a gun to bear in reply to her foe's, so she had to submit to the deliberate fire of the frigate, the corvettes and brigs of the enemy's lee line, and also from the partial fire of the 'Martin de Freitas.' Our captain,

Frederick Henry, a fine specimen of a naval officer, of tall and commanding stature, stood undisturbed near the wheel as the shot began to tell in quick succession, and, amidst the dead silence observed by our crew, there was distinctly heard the hollow-sounding thuds when their shot struck home in the teak sides of the old ship. A shot from the 'Martin de Freitas' took the head off the shoulders of our master, Mr. Moore; at the same time our men were beginning to fall. It was a trying time to stand and do nothing, to listen to the crashing sounds of the 68-pounders when they cleared the fife rail by the foremast at a sweep, scattering the splinters around, and then ripping up the decks with a terrific force. Captain Henry had his cap shot from his head by a grape shot, when with the utmost gravity he stretched out his hand and, removing the quartermaster's hat, placed it upon his own head, as if the man had been placed there for no other purpose than to be his hat-peg. Slowly, but surely, our ship drew near to the foe, with our guns trained to the extreme left; the men stood steady, trigger-line in hand, all feeling that our turn was fast approaching to revenge the losses we had sustained. Captain Henry took his station in the gangway, speaking-trumpet in hand; he hailed the 'Princeza Real' three times to strike. Her colours fell for an instant (attributed to the halyards having been cut by a musket-ball), but the ensign was at the peak again in a moment. Our captain moved to the main-hatch, he gave the order in a voice heard from one end of the ship to the other—to fire as soon as the guns would bear. One moment more and the weather quarter of the enemy was in line with the guns on our starboard broadside, which, double-shotted, were discharged, carrying all before it. The guns were served again in time for the lee quarter, and were again discharged, crushing in the stern-frame to matches. Then the order for the first division of boarders away on the starboard bow, our boarders standing thickly in the fore-chains, rigging, nettings, and in the head, impatiently awaiting the first contact to leap down upon the quarter-deck. At this moment the enemy's marines were drawn up across the quarter-deck, bringing their muskets up to the present. A spontaneous cheer from our men was given, some throwing their pistols at the heads of the marines; their volley was given with unsteady aim, only two or three of our men being hurt. The ships closed at last, and away leaped the boarders, headed by Captain Henry, Commander Shute, and Lieutenant John Weeks, Captains Burt and Ebsworth of the Marines, and many others, all closely upon one another.

The enemy gave way, retreating to the main-deck, making a show of resistance, for the racks there had been fitted for a thousand stand of muskets, loaded and primed ready for use. We made attempts to rush below, but the sharp fire from the musketry and probing from the boarding

pikes at one's legs between the steps of the ladders rendered the passing down unpleasant.

The foremost guns on the quarter-deck were brass 18-pounders mounted on carriages with tracks. These were loaded with grape and canister, pinched up to the hatchway giving them all the depression possible. We called on the enemy to surrender or these guns would be discharged to clear the way; which scheme had the desired effect. The "Princeza Real's" officers came on deck, delivering up their swords just fifteen minutes from the time our first broadside was given.

Our corvette and brig undertook the large frigate "Martin de Freitas," commanded by an American. At it our 'small fry' went, demanding the surrender of the frigate; but the only reply was, "I guess I shan't surrender to anyone less than my own size." . . . He surrendered to Napier in the 'Rainha.'

The steamers now took in tow the disabled ships and made for Lagos Bay; the others followed, and by noon on the 6th they were all safely riding at anchor.

The commander of the Miguelite corvette ran off to Lisbon; we afterwards heard he was shot for cowardice. The commander of the brig ran for Madeira, and was imprisoned.

Lagos had never presented so stirring a scene as on the 6th July, 1833. Queen Donna Maria II. had now a fleet of 2 seventy-fours, 5 frigates, 3 corvettes, and 3 brigs, all gaily dressed out in flags, peacefully riding at anchor. As the day was wearing on, H.B.M. ships 'Donegal' and 'Castor,' that had been in search of the 'Princeza Real' to demand satisfaction, came into the bay; on hearing of our success, they hoisted our flag at the main and fired a royal salute.

Our orders now were to proceed north, timeing our movements with those of the troops under the Duke of Terceira, which had orders to march at once to the left bank of the Tagus and menace Lisbon.

CHAPTER XVII.

JULY 15TH TO 31ST.

Pay—The snuff-maker's gun, "João Paulo"—Enemy reconnoitring—Pedroites preparing; Dom Pedro reviews; only about 7000 bayonets! pickets angry with each other—Enemy throwing up new works and exercising troops—Occasional battery work—Weather fine for a fight—Second book of the Iliad—We are to be eaten up!—Reflections—Picket-firing—25th July, Bourmont's grand attack; his defeat (see plan of lines)—Author's observations; his rockets and their work; General Cotter killed; Richardson's splendid charge; Bourmont wounded; one of his sons killed; the Scotch in their glory; Saldanha's splendid cavalry charge; Incidents of the defence; Dom Pedro sends thanks to all engaged; Dom Miguel's misery—Lisbon taken by Terceira—Various accounts of the defence; the official account; Saldanha's observations—Dom Pedro visits the lines to thank his troops; his farewell to Oporto; goes to Lisbon—Scanty Miguelite details; Baron de Haber—Patriotic poetry—Many had fresh "horse" for supper—Terceira's landing in the Algarves; march and entry into Lisbon—"Gazette" for the 25th—Provisions coming in—Miguelites report that Dom Pedro had been made prisoner in Lisbon!—A *Te Deum* for the destruction of his fleet!! and that Terceira's had been destroyed!!!—Levée at Lordello—Dom Pedro in Lisbon—Anecdotes of him.

PAY.—When I left England, Sir J. M. Doyle held out the promise of ensign's pay of 5s. 3d. a day, and table-money 8s. 6d., and to reimburse £20 expenses getting to Oporto; in lieu of which I only received private's pay; but of this I did not complain. I was a volunteer, and learning the art of war.*

* "There is no *theory* of war; *practice* of war is everything." Napoleon was of this opinion. "Read and re-read," he said, "the campaigns of Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Turenne, Gustavus, and Frederick; this is the only method by which you will master the secrets of war."—See Cust's "Lives of Warriors," 1869.

My pay as cadet of artillery was about 5d. a day, and no rations! With regard to the foreign troops, they had English pay, arrears to be settled when they got to Lisbon; and at the end of the war they were to have two years' pay, say £40, as a gratuity, pensions if wounded, and then to leave the service—for a lot of foreigners might have become troublesome to the State.*

The pay of a Portuguese soldier, in time of peace, was about $3\frac{3}{4}$d., and no rations; corporals and sergeants a very little more. At the period under consideration privates had 5d., and no rations; ensigns, £3 15s. per month; captain, £5; major, £10; colonel, £12 10s. But now officers were only paid per month £2 10s., which was often in arrears; the balance was to be received in Lisbon. Everything was to be satisfactorily arranged in Lisbon!

The enemy erected an imposing battery between the Sampaio and Candal, under Bourmont's directions, who had now taken command of the Miguelites. My idea was that they had already too many. Long shots are all very well, but close quarters and the bayonet sooner settles the affair one way or another. I have already mentioned the existence of a large iron gun we knew as the "João Paulo," also called "Papa Malhados," the Liberal devourer. It was cast at the Carron foundry, in Scotland, at the expense of a rich Miguelite, named João Paulo Cordeiro, then in Jersey, the manufacturer of the celebrated Portuguese snuff "Princeza." He resided there because he could manufacture snuff free of duty. He

* At the conclusion of the war, foreigners got their pay, gratuities, and pensions, after long waiting. Sir C. Shaw, I believe, was the only one who had not been settled with up to 1869! Napier took good care that his officers and men had compensation as prize-money on the value of the Miguelite fleet he had taken.

had become rich by having prime pickings out of the tobacco monopoly in Portugal.

On the 15th, Lordello, in particular, was well reconnoitred by the enemy.

On the 16th,* the Emperor reviewed his troops in the afternoon. They were in good spirits, but the lines were thin, and there were many gaps in them, of which a bold and determined enemy might have taken advantage.

Although there was a weak parapet and palisade all around the city, there was hardly any ditch, and many of the palisades had been burnt. The entrances by the roads were alone well secured, so that a few determined French or British troops would have carried the place any day.

On the 17th, Captain Crosbie visited me at my post at Lordello. He gave me some supposed details as to what Marshal Bourmont was doing in arranging a "field-day for us, and no mistake." The enemy's pickets and ours were closer than ever, and when they were not popping at each other the Miguelites called us freemasons, rebeldes, English heretics, and other impertinences. We gave them as good in return, calling them caipires (low thieves), and corcundos (hunchbacks or shrug-shoulders)—not sparing the monks, many of whom were under arms, telling them to marry.

19*th*.—The Miguelites made an attempt to surprise a picket at the Prelada Quinta, but without success. The French occupied this Quinta, but the enemy was in possession of the summer-house or tower in the garden.

There was much and heavy cannonading from the enemy's batteries, particularly during the night.

* "Badcock."

The enemy was throwing up new works in all directions. They were employed so close to the north side that our Gloria battery opened fire.

20th.—The enemy's Serralves battery in front of Lordello was driving away during the day at the Van Zeller Quinta, and we could see considerable movements of troops towards that locality. Under arms all day.

Sunday, 21st.—I got to my quarters in the city to have a good wash and tidy up a bit, for sleeping in the trenches did not improve the outer man. From what I could collect, the English Government was favourably inclined to Donna Maria, and independently of British men-of-war in the Douro and Tagus, there were others cruising about the coast, which must have been painful to Dom Miguel, who at that moment had ordered 4000 men in great haste from before Oporto to strengthen Lisbon.

Provisions were now getting to be moderately plentiful, and there was less salt-fish as rations. The weather was magnificent, with plenty of daylight for a fight.

22nd.—In my rocket trench all day, reading portions of the "Iliad." The following passage (ii., line 930) struck me, seeing our small numbers for the defence, and the so much greater of the besiegers :—

> "——— myself
> Have witnessed many, but a host like this
> Saw never yet; for, as the sands or leaves
> In numbers, they approach to gird the town."

Before daylight on the 23rd Colonel Fonseca, the commander of the Foz, sent me with despatches that had come by sea to General Saldanha. At 6.30 a.m. there was a skirmish at Prelada, between the Carvalhido and Van Zeller batteries, indeed a reconnaissance. My protegé

B—— heard there was to be warm work in the eastern lines, so he volunteered for the Gloria battery among the big guns.

During the night of the 24th there was much picket-firing and an increased quantity of bad language by both sides. Sometimes it was witty and amusing. We were assured that we were soon to be eaten up by the enemy; to which we replied that they would find us too tough to digest. The weather was now very fine, the fields were covered with bright grass, the vines were in full leaf, shading many a jaded sentinel from the hot sun's rays; and the patches of Indian corn with its beautiful foliage waved gracefully in the breeze. The months of shelling and pounding with shot had opened the walls of many a garden and orange grove. I walked into several without hindrance. The flowers had run wild, grass and weeds were growing on the paths. I would go onwards to the habitations. In many instances the doors had been long wrenched off their hinges and used as firewood. I would enter, when my tread resounded uncomfortably through that once happy home, which had been stripped of all it possessed. It occurred to me, however, that this tender strain would not do when in momentary expectation of an attack of all the enemy's forces and under a French marshal.*

For some time past the enemy had been busy day and night, attempting to cut down trees, to facilitate the passage of their artillery and columns, but measures were taken to prevent this as much as possible.

The Miguelite Furada battery on the south side of the river was now completed, and seven pieces of artillery were

* But, to use Shaw's words—"For two years the people had kept possession of Oporto, as the head-quarters and bulwark of European liberty."

placed in it. The object of this battery was to clear all open ground between Lordello and the city, so as to fire upon the rear of Dom Pedro's army whilst it was engaged in front, but the shot did equal damage to themselves.

The Grand Attack of the Miguelites on the Lines of Oporto the 25th July, Commanded by General Bourmont.—His Defeat.

I had witnessed many of the enemy's attacks on Oporto, and assisted in our sorties, but these were rather of a partial character. Now with the arrival of a French marshal with his own staff, I pictured to myself a regularly arranged battle; that the artillery of the enemy would prepare, infantry and artillery carry on the battle, and cavalry complete the victory. The cavalry was also to collect information, keep the enemy at a distance, cover an advance or retreat, &c. For broken infantry, the rushing dragoons, with well-wielded sabres, or lancers. Then by a judicious threatening of cavalry, infantry could be kept in masses, exposed to the concentrated fire of artillery and musketry.*

* *Athenæum*, June 15th, 1866, on Havelock's military questions of the day.

"History of Grant's Campaign for the Capture of Richmond, 1864-5."

First.—To use the greatest number of troops practicable against the armed force of the enemy.

Second.—To hammer continuously against the armed force of the enemy and his resources, until by mere attrition, if in no other way, there should be nothing left to him but submission. Well did Grant understand how the Confederates had used their advantages to destroy the armies of the North, that were "like a balky team, no two pulling together." . . . Then followed those days of desperate attack on the rough earth and timber fortifications, so ably thrown up under Lee, himself an engineer

I went the day before, the 25th, to the top of the church at Lordello, to look again at our weak advance lines and the enemy's strong ones. A fight indeed it would be!

The attack of the 25th July, so long expected, began at 6 a.m. by the enemy advancing in massive columns, headed by La Rochejaquelein, upon the Lordello and neighbouring lines, attacking with great impetuosity, and led by French officers. This continued off and on with great vigour until noon, when the fire slackened and we at Lordello felt that the enemy had been well received and severely punished by our thin line of defenders. It seemed as if they had at times from 8000 to 10,000 men massed on various spots. They came upon us in good order, fighting well, but were beaten back by our well-directed musketry and guns. Three or four times, at least, they got into the Lordello lines, which they could not keep, for our side was too active and stubborn. Their principal object was to force the western lines, and get possession of the narrow slip of land through Lordello to the river. Had they succeeded in this operation, we should have been cut off from the Foz and the entrance to the river. It was well that Saldanha had foreseen the weakness of Lordello and lines to seaward, and erected the Pinhal and Pasteleiro and Van Zeller batteries, or the enemy must have succeeded; and to have driven them back into their lines, could we even have done it, would have cost us

officer. Tuesday night saw the Federals fall back sullenly from the breastworks with a loss of 10,000 more troops. And at last, when Thursday, the eighth day of battle, came, and the stubborn foe is partly driven back, another 10,000 have to be added to the tale of Federal losses. . . An assault on Coal Harbour costs 13,000. . . Then Lee telegraphed to Davis, "My line is broken in three places and Richmond must be evacuated;" and "the death-throes of that city in its condition of capital of the Confederate States commenced."—*Athenæum*, March 20, 1869.

torrents of blood. We felt that had they taken the city, all would have been put to the sword and the place destroyed.* Whilst the horrid din of war was at its height † at Lordello, we could hear that very serious doings were going on at the Foz, and at the Van Zeller Quinta, where some French and Belgians fought most determinedly, at Agua-ardente, and in the east, on the other side of the city.

The enemy's batteries on the opposite side of the river were not idle, particularly a new one, the Facho, between the Sampaio and Candal, which gave me and my rocket-men and the troops at Caza Amarelha abundance of shot and shell; however, many of these went among their own men. One shot made a ricochet between me and the large rocket-frame, striking a stone, the splinters from

*. Wellington in a letter to Canning, dated London, Feb. 3, 1820, says: —"I believe it has always been understood that the defenders of a fortress stormed have no claim to quarter; and the practice which prevailed during the last century of surrendering a fortress when a breach was opened in the body of the place, and the counterscarp had been blown in, was founded on this understanding. Of late years the French have availed themselves of the humanity of modern warfare, and have made a new regulation requiring that a breach should stand one assault at least; the consequence of this regulation was to me a loss of the flower of the army in the assaults of Ciudad Rodrigo and of Badajos. I certainly should have thought myself justified in putting both garrisons to the sword; and if I had done so to the first, it is probable that I should have saved 5000 men in the assault of the second. I mention this in order to show you that the practice of refusing quarter to a garrison which stands an assault is not a useless effusion of blood."—"Despatches, &c.," 1867.

† The following is from Kinglake's "Crimea," iv., p. 279:—Familiar pulpit reflections concerning man's frail tenure of life come to have all the air of fresh truths when they are pressed upon the attention of mortals by the "ping" of the bullet, by the sighing, the humming, and at last the "whang" of the round shot, by the "whirr" of the jagged iron fragments thrown abroad from a bursting shell, by the sound that issues from the moist plunge of the round shot when it buries itself with a "slosh" in the trunk of a man or horse.

which cut my head and right hand a little. I got orders at last to commence firing, and blazed away, whenever I saw the columns of the enemy advancing, or in a position to be annoyed, with shot, shell, and carcass-rockets. From the smoke of the firing around us I could not at all times see if the rockets had done execution, but "bravos" were heard from those who were looking on from other positions. Some Miguelites who came over to us during the fight said they saw a large rocket rush into a party of Milicianos, killing and wounding eleven! Our best work was at a squadron of cavalry; the rockets went unexpectedly and dropped into them, and the way they scattered was most satisfactory to me and my men; if we killed none, there must have been lots of broken bones.

On the top of the parapet of my trench I had a pretty considerable line of rockets, composed of 6 and 12-pounders in platoon, in case the enemy forced their way to us, all ready prepared, a train placed in the vent, the leader carried over and under the alternate sticks. If we had had to run, the train would have been fired and the enemy would have been thrown into confusion, some of them killed, wounded, and smothered.

We soon heard that many of our side had been killed, including Brigadier-General Cotter (by a shell) in the Luz battery in advance of the Foz. His son-in-law's leg was shattered. Many badly wounded I saw carried to the rear. Near to us was the 15th Regiment—it fought splendidly, their wives and children biting off the ends of the cartridges and keeping them supplied with water, for it was a hot day. Wine was sent to us along the line; but water is the best drink in action, wine afterwards.

The brave 15th was more than once ready to go to the charge; if they had, there would have been terrible

slaughter on both sides. I heard, while the battle was going on, that Captain Richardson of Dodgin's regiment made a magnificent and damaging bayonet charge at the enemy near the Pasteleiro battery.

At 4 p.m. there was a dead silence. Myself and men, except the guard, threw ourselves down in our trench, just in the rear of the rockets, to sleep, dead beat.

Later in the day we heard from prisoners and deserters that Marshal Bourmont had been wounded in the arm, that one of his sons had been killed and another wounded near to us; that Generals Clouet, Lemos, and San Lorenzo had been wounded, also that Bourmont was in an awful rage, swearing like a trooper; that the attack had not been carried out in conformity with his orders, and that he would renew it again on the following day.* Colonel Shaw and his Scotch had tremendous work of it, and did it right well. They lost some of their number, including a former comrade of the Rifles, Ensign Lacy; and Ensign Russell, another of the Rifles, badly wounded. The French, and others on the right, were very hard pressed, when Saldanha headed a splendid charge. Saldanha was in command this day, so we called it his defeat of Bourmont.

One of Dom Pedro's aides galloped up to our lines, having been sent to thank us for our day's work. It was a good one, and we felt satisfied with ourselves, for man,

* C. Napier, i, p. 247:—The failure of this attack must be attributed to the great dislike the Miguelite troops had to attack intrenchments. The heads of the columns, instead of keeping firm and filling up the spaces become vacant by the killed and wounded, and instead of marching boldly up, invariably broke into skirmishing parties, securing themselves as well as the nature of the ground would allow, thereby exposed to a desultory fire, probably from its duration more destructive than the bolder and more decided attack of the bayonets would have entailed upon them.

woman, and child had done their duty for constitutional liberty.

What groups for sketches I saw about me—companies at the ready, fire, or charge; a wife frantically sobbing over her dead husband; another bandaging up a wound, and then loading his musket; children bringing water to their fathers, brothers, and their comrades; parties of soldiers, after having fired all their ammunition away, resting awhile on their muskets, black with powder, sweating, panting, and begging for a panikin of water; then, after a desperate scrimmage, and putting the enemy to the rout, coming together in their respective companies—some having been separated during the attack—when they would embrace and shout out "Viva a liberdad!" One poor woman had come from the city with food for her husband. She hunted about but could not see him. When passing a corner, there he was, a corpse, the face covered with his great coat. She raised it gently—there was her slaughtered husband! She shrieked, and fell upon his body.

Towards night we heard joy-bells ringing at the Foz, and in the city. The expedition sent under Terceira, which Napier had landed in the far south, were in possession of Lisbon, Donna Maria II. having been proclaimed there on the 24th. Two great successes in one day was consolation indeed for the long and devastating siege Oporto had suffered.

It was the birthday of Captain D—— (whom I had known in England), of Dodgin's regiment, then at the Foz. I had an invitation, and I kept it. We drank more than once to Napier, Terceira, Palmella, Saldanha, Torres, Donna Maria II., Dom Pedro, and all other friends. That 25th of July was a glorious day indeed for the victorious soldier, but for the vanquished enemy one of sorrow!

Having given what I was able to observe and hear about this decisive defence, I offer the observations of others who were present.

Shaw writes * :—

We had a regular fight, hand to hand, three different times, and firing for hours, behind the walls and vines at the distance of fifteen yards. When the mist cleared up, I saw a large body of cavalry followed by heavy columns of infantry, with fascines and ladders, moving towards where my men were. Such a sight stopped my breath! I took up my position at Mata Sete (Lordello). My men were driven into the Oporto road. I ran down from the picket-house, rallied them, fixed bayonets. We all jumped into a ditch, and there we dealt it out. No speaking. Their cavalry charged our flèches, and sent our Portuguese to the right-about. They were followed by heavy columns of infantry, who now made themselves masters of our lines, excepting the two redoubts of Pasteleiro and Saldanha. I called out "Cease your firing—who wants the 'Tower and Sword'?" An officer and thirty Scotch volunteered. Mr. Morgan called out, "There are thirty of us all ready." "Then, do you see that unoccupied flèche in the centre of the enemy's present advanced line?—dash forward and seize it." They dashed splendidly forward, we cheering them on. I then formed another party, and proceeded up the hollow road leading into the flèches, with fixed bayonets. We fell in with four fellows, who were disposed of very quietly. Now then the row began. I hallooed, "Now is your time—dash among them." We found 150 in the ditch. Then such confusion, huddling over each other, we bayoneting and pricking them. To let them see I had retaken the battery, I sprung on the top, calling out to the piper, "Blow, blast you! blow." A second very bold attack was made on Lordello, which we repulsed, under cover of a most tremendous fire of shot and shells from upwards of fifty guns. The attack had lasted from six, and it was now two o'clock. They fired an immense quantity of round shot with the precision of rifles, but I suspect the troops would not advance.

Sir Charles Shaw gives me the following :—After I had repulsed the enemy at Lordello, to my horror I saw them in the flèche *and that we were lost*. Leaving the Scotch in their positions, I called out to the English, "Come, my lads, who'll follow me, to show that drunken English are

* "Memoirs," vol ii., p. 254.

better than sober Portuguese; but keep quiet—no noise, and we'll astonish the Miguelites." About fifty English at once volunteered. There was a narrow deep road, a short cut from Lordello which I knew. I led them unseen into the flèche. I had cut one of the enemy down, and three others had been bayoneted, before we *hurrahed,* and I nearly caught one of Bourmont's staff. They all bolted, we driving a lot of prisoners into that part (garrisoned by the 10th), while I like a madman was cheering, "Hurrah for the drunken English!" I told this to Saldanha, who was much amused.

The Miguelites had about 40,000 regulars, while the Liberators had not 6000 bayonets.

During the action the batteries from the left bank were playing shot and shell, some of which I saw falling into their own columns drawn up for attack between Ervilha and Serralves. This caused them great confusion.

The enemy was in our lines after they took the Flecha dos Mortos for a half-hour, between Pasteleiro and the Flecha dos Mortos, even into the Foz road, but were repulsed by the English and Scotch.

In the garden of Mata Sete the enemy was so close that there was bayonet work in the ditch. One of the Scotch, when we were hard at it, came to me and said, "Loord, Cornal, how pleased you must be, this day we see their een finely!"

While we were severely engaged, the enemy came to cross the Douro to catch us in the rear, near to H.M.S. 'Nautilus;' but, firing on the women and children running in the Foz road, Lord George Paulet's kind heart could not stand it, and he indignantly threatened to fire upon them, and they halted. *If they had crossed we must have been defeated.*

I had prepared stems of trees, such as Bravo had left before the Serra Convent. The bravest of the enemy ran forward for shelter, and even behind these were forming; but *then* I opened a flanking fire from the garden walls which killed the greater part, and those who were following, seeing the fate of their comrades, declined to advance.

Lordello was about two hundred yards from the enemy, with pine trees in front. On the morning of the 24th, I noticed a party trying to cut these trees down. I saw the object was to make an opening for a column of troops for attack, or for artillery, as when they passed the pines they had a clear run into the interior of my position. I therefore kept during the day such a heavy fire upon them that they could not work. But the night was to be the difficulty. I got from the woollen manufactory some strong beams, fixed them steadily and cut notches in them, on which the muskets rested, but fixed, pointed to where the cutting was taking place. I made the men fire from these rests, to show they were correct. As soon as it was dark I heard the *cutting begin*, but, though I could not see, still the plan was efficient, as the cutting ceased on our firing, and the enemy was thus obliged to change their style of attack for the next morning.

Seeing how the Russians repaired their works (in the Crimea), this plan was mentioned in the *Times;* but only one officer, who commanded an outlying picket, tried it, and he said the Russians could not work that night.

When at Oporto, observing that nearly all who tried to do their duty were killed, I of course expected the same fate, only answerable to a higher power. I always said a short prayer before going into action—"If it be Thy will, preserve me this day, as my death will cause great pain to my mother."

Having given the account by a colonel, I now offer the views of Corporal Knight, who had joined Shaw at Lordello; he had been decorated with the K.T.S. for his prominent bravery at the battle of Ponte Ferreira, the 23rd July, 1832.

The Miguelites got Bourmont and a parcel of French officers to lead them, and having collected their forces close to Lordello, the key to the city, the enemy was most anxious to get into it.

While at breakfast we heard the pickets engaged, and, starting up, saw masses driving them in; at the same time the enemy's batteries poured round shot in among us.

We were driven from our barracks and were retreating up a lane, when Colonel Shaw came galloping on his mule, "What are you at, men? Right-about-face—charge!"

We wheeled round, and drove them again through the barracks and out of the garden, our bagpipes screeching notes of defiance.

I think the Miguelites never fought so well, and it was just a touch and go that they did not get the better of us. The fight continued—regular hand-to-hand work—till the evening, when the Miguelites retired.

The next day, I saw in some places great lots of wounded huddled together; one great fat fellow, with legs as thick as a man's body, I saw standing jammed up by a round shot between a wall and a tree. Some were terribly smashed by bars of iron two feet long, which we had let off among their heavy columns.

Having already suffered much from the stench of the bodies of those killed in former attacks, which it was dangerous to burn or bury, as the enemy always fired on our men when we attempted it, the Colonel, thinking that in this hot weather the smell of the killed the day before would cause plague, resolved to try to get them buried. . . . It was agreed that each should bury or burn his own dead.*

Often have I thought, as I do still, that 3000 of our own British army

* *Waterloo after the Battle.*—"Early the following morning, the survivors arose and hurried out to seek, amidst the dying and the dead, their comrades and friends of whose fate they were as yet ignorant. But even earlier still had the wretches who hang on the skirts of an army, for the purpose of rifling the dead, been at work: the watches and purses of many were already gone; many a brave heart still throbbing had received its *coup de grâce* from the hands of these merciless plunderers."—Cotton's "A Voice from Waterloo."

would have forced the lines and have taken Oporto any day they chose; and if the Miguelites, in their attacks on the 16th and 29th September, 4th March and 25th July, had kept up the determination they began with, and had not been afraid of bayonet work, their immense numbers, against a handful of British, must have driven them back, or, what was more likely, have knocked every one of them over; and after that I would not have given much for Oporto. I had been in Oporto since the 9th of July, 1832, and during that period having undergone much suffering and hardships of various kinds, I left it.

Captain Glascock in his "Naval Sketchbook," says:—

Bourmont was the first to make the Miguelites attack in column; they came on uncommonly well. Their cavalry attempted the rashest act ever tried—they charged the lines, and several of their horses dropped with their riders into the Pedroite trenches. The advance columns gave way four different times, and each time renewed and again led on. Had they persevered a fourth time, they must inevitably have taken Lordello and cut off the Foz.

Bourmont* had drawn together his whole force, and the troops on the left bank of the Douro had been told, when marched up to the attack, that they were to be aided by a column of French that had disembarked at Vianna: they believed it when they saw so many French officers. Bourmont had made every necessary arrangement for repeating the attack three days successively, and his intention was communicated to the army; but he must have calculated rather too much on the energies of the Miguelites, and if he published that intention as a proof of his determination to take Oporto, he surely must have overlooked the attendant impolicy of thus exposing his opinion of the difficulty of the enterprise. Dom Miguel had stationed himself on Mont S. Gens, a very commanding height, at a league and a half from Oporto, whence he could clearly overlook the attack. It is said that, when he saw the desperately repeated attempts of his army frustrated, he threw down and shattered his spying-glass, with strong expressions of passion.

OFFICIAL ACCOUNT.

During the night of the 24th, Saldanha visited the lines, and at 3 a.m. on the 25th placed himself in the Gloria battery, so as to observe at daylight the expected movements of the enemy, for during

* "Civil War."

the night the rumbling of artillery and tramping of cavalry could be heard in front of Carvalhido and Lordello.

Dom Pedro had been ill since the 21st, but when he received Saldanha's communication at 5 a.m., he mounted his horse at once, making for Ramada Alta, then to the Gloria battery. At this moment the enemy commenced a brisk fire from the Serralves and Verdinho batteries on the north; also from the Furada on the south; the last commanding the rear of the Liberals at Lordello, Van Zeller, and Pasteleiro.

The enemy, some 12,000 strong, sallied from their trenches between Ariosa and Mathosinhos, in eight columns, accompanied by three regiments of cavalry and sixteen pieces of artillery. Bourmont's order of battle at half-past five was as follows:—Upon Franco and the house of Prelada a column of infantry of 1400 men with two companies of skirmishers. On the left, centre, and right of the Quinta Van Zeller and on Mirante three columns of infantry and Caçadores, consisting of 3500 to 4000 men, with 400 skirmishers in front of the centre column; in each of its flanks three pieces of artillery (there being at this moment in ambuscade in the Pine-wood near the Quinta Van Zeller two squadrons of cavalry). On Lordello two columns of infantry of 3500 to 4000 men, having 350 to 400 skirmishers; also three squadrons of cavalry, and ten pieces of artillery.

It was now seen that Bourmont's first object was to cut off the communication of the city with its port at the Foz, and that Lordello and Van Zeller were to be the principal points of attack. At 6 a.m. the fighting was severe and general.

The column that was directed on Francos took possession of it, obliging detachments of our 1st and 2nd Infantry to return; but these being reinforced by a party of the Donna Maria Volunteers,* of the Fixos battalion under Captain Solla, dislodged the enemy and retook their post, when Solla made a furious charge and drove the enemy off, who left 80 dead on the field.

The attack on the Quinta and battery of Van Zeller was a daring one,

* In 1828 they first armed as the "Divisão leal," at the cry of constitutional liberty, and had to fly to England. On their landing at Villa da Praia they were saluted by the Miguelites with "340 guns peppering at them from the men-of-war." Much distinguished at the battle of Villa da Praia. Landed with Dom Pedro at Oporto, and did good work at Vallongo, Ponte Ferreira, in defence of the lines, and in the rest of the campaign. The commander was Manoel Joaquim de Menezes, an old Peninsular officer. He was made Baron do Cabo de Praia in 1835.

with three columns and artillery; attacking also the flèche on the left, which sustained the line to Lordello. The superior forces of the enemy opened a pass between the posts of Franco and Quinta Van Zeller, advancing by the road of the house of Arco; their further progress was impeded by Colonel Furtada with part of the 2nd regiment. At the same time Colonel Borso, commanding the 2nd regiment, and Major Cassano with his carbineers and flankers, charged the enemy on the left, which put their right into disorder. Here there was great carnage, and the central column of the enemy would not advance. Cassano then went to the left in front of the 3rd company of Captain Nuski, when he took command of a small column and advanced to the attack on the right of the line. These two forces executed a vigorous charge on the enemy's flanks. Colonel Borso, being in the battery with a company of public functionaries, and another of the Fixos, put himself at the head of the 7th company of the Rainha, and attacked the centre of the enemy with such energy that they retreated in great disorder; he then made a dash at the enemy's artillery, but was prevented by two squadrons of cavalry; however when the cavalry were retiring they got punished.

Dom Pedro now saw that the enemy wanted the Quinta Van Zeller, so he reinforced it with two pieces of artillery, and 200 of the 9th regiment, giving them as a reserve 150 of the 9th, and a squadron of Bacon's lancers.

About noon the enemy, having formed their columns for the fifth time, prepared again for attack, in which they did not succeed; their artillery retired in disorder, and their columns were soon seen in the same state; their loss now in killed was 150, including a captain and a cadet. The artillery of the Liberals in this part of the line was in charge of Captain Baldi, whose well directed and constant fire contributed so much to the successful defence.

The two columns directed on Lordello, on nearing, divided into four, two of which attempted to break through the right of that position, but were driven back at the point of the bayonet by the 6th company of the 15th Regiment; but, as they were charged by a squadron of cavalry, they were obliged to fly to cover under a wall, from which they had just driven the enemy. The other two columns made a similar attempt to break through on the left, when they found the Scotch under Colonel Shaw, who had to give way, but being at once reinforced by 200 of the 15th Regiment, the 1st battalion of Mariantes, and volunteers of Cedofeita, Shaw was now in a position to repel his enemy and regain the points he had lost; he twice charged them at the point of the bayonet, causing much slaughter.

The enemy now attempted three several times to force the lines at

Caza Branca, but failed, and got severely handled by a piece of artillery they did not expect to find there. The enemy saw itself obliged to retire at half-past eleven, followed by the fire of our Salabert battery, and a gun in command of Captain Santos, who was wounded at the end of the action. They left before Lordello 137 killed, and many dead and wounded horses.

The two columns that went on the Pasteleiro had in their rear three squadrons of cavalry, and ten pieces of artillery in their front. The Flecha dos Mortos and the right of the Pasteleiro were impetuously attacked, assisted by their cavalry and artillery. Pacheco commanded here with the 10th Infantry, 1st Battalion of Movables, and part of that of the Minho. Pacheco received the enemy with his accustomed steadiness, then he went to the repulse and beat them back in style.

Five hours of successive but useless attacks told the enemy plainly that Oporto was not to be taken by them. One of their columns certainly took the flèche to the right of the Pasteleiro, but Major Miranda advanced with the 5th company of the 10th Regiment (Shaw says this was one of the best regiments) in front of the flèche, his 6th company occupying a wall near the house of Pasteleiro, ordering the 1st Battalion of Movables to assist on the right of the road that led to Lordello. These arrangements were quickly executed, as well as others on the right by Colonel Shaw and his Scotch Fusiliers, obliging the enemy to retreat in a few minutes. They came on a second and third time, but met with the same fate. The enemy now rested for an hour, and being reinforced, their attacking column, assisted by a powerful squadron of cavalry, for the fourth time returned to attack the flèche, but they were so well received by our artillery, firing and charging at the point of the bayonet, that they beat a retreat, leaving on the field 230 killed, and 53 dead and wounded horses.

The Congreve rockets thrown amongst their columns from Lordello produced the most desirable effects.

Whilst the enemy attacked the left, they tried to divert attention from those points by firing of musketry on the right of the Fojo to the river side, for which object they had in the Baixa de Campanha a column of 4000 to 5000 men. By one o'clock they tried to force the post of Campanha. The pickets of the Liberals were driven in upon their reserves, when Colonel Mesquita, with the 3rd and 4th companies of the 12th Caçadores, advanced, and having united the pickets, with his accustomed bravery charged the enemy, obliging them to abandon the positions they had taken.

Half-an hour afterwards the force that had been repelled from before Campanha advanced upon Bomfim and Guella da Pão, forcing the Liberals

to draw in. Saldanha at once saw how advantageous it would be for the enemy if they took possession of that ground. He shouted out for twenty lancers to follow him to the charge. This brilliant onset they did not expect. It was a timely and bold manœuvre, and caused the enemy to retreat precipitately upon their respective columns.*

The pickets were again posted, and protected by reserves which quickly came up. Saldanha returned and entered the lines, leaving numbers of the enemy slain on the field.

Torres was not idle at the Serra. He ordered three detachments to advance against the enemy's pickets at Quebrantões and Campo Bello, making them retire, and although reinforced by 200 men they would not attack the Liberals, who returned leisurely to the Serra.

The Liberals lost in killed and wounded in nine hours of combat 322 men, including 39 officers. The loss of the enemy was about 5000.

Dom Miguel sought to get out of the way of his army, which was now disorganized. At 4 p.m., to add to his misery, he received the appalling information of the fall of Lisbon before the forces under the Duque de Terceira.†

Some further observations from Saldanha's Coimbra letter of 1866 *in "Extraits."*

"The conqueror of Algiers, Marshal Bourmont, accompanied by some of the best generals of the empire, and more than a hundred officers, took command of the army of Dom Miguel. Bourmont came to Oporto well instructed as to

* An attack was now made on the right of the defensive lines by 4000 Miguelites. Saldanha hastened to the point assailed, and finding that the foe had made a serious impression, he, followed by the whole of his staff, headed some lancers and cleared the ground by as gallant a charge as ever was made. One of his staff (Almeida) was killed, and the whole were more or less wounded.—"Civil War."

† It would be invidious to name those who were said to have distinguished themselves on the 25th. When the staff officer was reporting to Dom Pedro the names of those who had fallen, he expressed his great regret at the death of General Cotter, and he suddenly asked for Colonel Shaw. "He is not wounded." "I am glad of it, he seldom escapes." —"Civil War."

the state of our force, for Solignac, on his return to Paris, had published, to justify his leaving, a pamphlet, wherein he made known our miserable position, stating the number of soldiers, not omitting to specify the weakest points of our lines.

"The departure of Marshal Bourmont, Generals Drouet and Larochejaquelein, and a great number of other generals and officers from France, made so great a sensation in Europe that the English Government augmented its naval force in the Douro, and the French Government sent several vessels of war. On the 10th July, 1833, in the morning, going, as I was accustomed to do, to the Emperor's chamber, his Majesty, when I had told him there was no news, said, with astonishment: 'Do you not know that Bourmont yesterday took the command of my brother's army?' I begged that his Majesty would tell me how many thousand men he had brought with him. 'No soldiers,' replied the Emperor, 'but more than one hundred and twenty officers; you and Pimentel (then Quartermaster-General, afterwards Conde de Campanha) —you are the only persons on whom the arrival of these French officers has no effect.' Pimentel, who was present, said, 'Sire, I have the honour to tell your Majesty that I served many years against the armies of Napoleon, and that your Majesty may rest in surety that, in my opinion, none of the marshals of France are able to give lessons to the chief of your staff' (Saldanha). The city was in great trouble. Some of the English residents, who, with the greatest *sang froid*, had courageously suffered so long the bombardment, lost courage on the arrival of the conqueror of Algiers, and a number got on board the English men-of-war in the river. The consternation was general, except among the old soldiers, who, seeing that I was

joyous, had not forgotten that I had always led them to victory.

"The 25th July arrived, the anniversary of the battle of Obrique, the day Bourmont had chosen to increase the *éclat* of the glory he had acquired in the campaigns of 1813 and 1814, and the taking of Algiers. The point chosen for the main attack was the Quinta Van Zeller, one of the weakest points of our line of defence. I was there before daybreak. The enemy, three times repulsed, was preparing for a fourth attack. It was at this moment, leaving at Van Zeller my aide-de-camp, Solla, to repel that attack, I went in at once with my staff to the battery where the Emperor was. I said, 'If your Majesty will permit me, I will go at once to our extreme right, for Bourmont is a general, and were I in his place, when I saw the attack on the centre well engaged, I would attack the extreme right with a few battalions.' I galloped at once to the right, arriving at Guellas de Poã, where Xavier (afterwards Conde das Antas) commanded, when I saw our French battalion flying from before a formidable line of skirmishers, sustained by three battalions in column. I had no reserve, and was obliged to get together the nineteen officers of my staff, and forty-two lancers commanded by Captain Bloomfield; and at the head of these sixty-two brave fellows I charged the enemy. I had the good fortune to bear down the first battalion, which, in retreating, put the other two into disorder. Thus I re-established our line of defence. All the officers who charged with me were either killed or wounded, except myself and Ximenes, (now Viscount de Pinheiro). Fernando D'Almeida, my faithful companion, and my aide-de-camp for seventeen years, was killed."

"Dom Miguel had lost his fleet, his capital, and with

this last most unsuccessful effort of the 25th, with all his land force, to take Oporto, Dom Pedro at once decided to go to Lisbon. On the 26th, at 4 p.m. the Emperor visited his troops on the lines, thanking them for their noble services, when they gave him their vivas, also vivas for Donna Maria II. At 8 p.m. he returned to his quarters to dine, and about 11 o'clock he passed through Lordello on his way to the Foz, whence he embarked with his staff and ministers. About 1 a.m. he started for Lisbon, leaving the command of the 'most noble and loyal city of Oporto' to General Saldanha."

Dom Pedro's Farewell to Oporto, 26th July, 1833.

"My Oporto friends! Divine Providence, which has always protected us, has been pleased to permit the Expeditionary Division which I lately sent from this army to enter Lisbon, and lay the rebels low. The Queen's fleet is now anchored in the Tagus. Those Portuguese in the capital who have just rent their chains asunder are the same persecuted Portuguese you were. They call for my presence. Can I, devoted as I am to so heroic a nation, fail to hasten to their embraces, and share with that portion of your fellow-countrymen the feelings that animate them?

"It is necessary that I leave you at once, so that I may from Lisbon more fully take such steps as are now required. You can well understand, Portuenses, that at the moment of any danger to your city, I will never fail you. I leave you only for a little time, taking with me the tenderest and most loving recollection (a saudade mais pungente) of you, and of my companions in arms.

"During my absence, I recommend to you union, firmness, constancy, and tranquillity. Saldanha, the chief of

my staff, remains in charge of the forces and as your governor; he is worthy of your confidence.

"Be well assured, illustrious Portuenses, that ere long your sufferings will be at an end, that my promises shall be most religiously performed; that the Constitutional Charter will be shortly complied with, and that as soon as the present extraordinary circumstances will permit.

"Dom Pedro, Duke of Bragança."

I am unable to give Miguelite details relative to the 25th July. Here are a few observations from Baron de Los Valles, a French Legitimist writer.*

Those noble defenders of Legitimacy distinguished themselves in the Portuguese campaign by devotion and bravery. The names of Bourmont, Larochejaquelein, Almar, Feriet, Puiseux, Rocheline, Dubreuil, Bordigné, Tannegui-Duchatel, Grival, La Houssaye, Clacy, Brassaget, Kerveno,† Grenier, Mounier, Kersabiec, Saint-Pardoux, Rubichon, Diot, Cathelmeau, Dion, Orgoni, Delahaye, Argy, Bournonville, with many others equally illustrious, who found a glorious death on the field of battle, or watered the soil of Portugal with their blood, are worthy of being preserved among the glories of monarchical France.

General Count Auguste de Larochejaquelein was wounded in the left wrist on the 25th July. The valour he displayed

* "Career of Don Carlos," London, 1835.

† Kerveno was with Bourmont at Oporto, and known in France under the name of Baron de Chillon. He was afterwards assassinated at Corunna by order of Maria Christina, who caused the sentence of death pronounced against him in France, for nobly fighting by the side of the Duchess de Berri, to be executed in Spain. His death was noble and courageous, and excited the compassion of all the inhabitants, and even that of Murillo, who in this act of submission to the barbarous decree of his government, gave Kerveno a proof of his esteem by offering him his arm to the place of execution.

on that occasion had obtained for him from the Miguelites the surname of the "angel of battles."

He had received ten wounds at the battle of the Moskowa, whilst making with his regiment, the 1st Carbineers, repeated charges against redoubts as valiantly defended. Having been made prisoner, he refused to take service in Russia, and was wounded at the engagement of Mathes in La Vendée in 1815, on which occasion his brother Louis was killed by a shot in the breast.

Baron Maurice de Haber was with Dom Miguel during the latter portion of the siege of Oporto; he wrote to the author, in 1865, that Dom Miguel had very few real friends about him, and those were of poor account; that a great number of his principal officers became lukewarm; that they had relatives and friends among the Pedroites; that they were tired of being shot at, indeed the Baron accused some of treason—but we must bear in mind that he belonged to the old Legitimist school. The Baron spoke well of the soldiers and of the peasantry in the interior of Portugal; but gave it as his opinion that the protection and assistance of the Whigs in England, Louis Philippe in France, and the Spanish Liberals was too much for the Miguelites, and that the political and financial affairs of Dom Miguel were lamentably conducted.

Whilst the Baron was with the Miguelites, their troops had taken some French, English, and other foreigners, and were about despatching them in cold blood; he accidentally came upon this party and had influence enough to save them.*

* Subsequently when the Baron was at the head-quarters of Don Carlos in Spain, he saved a number of foreign prisoners, amongst whom were Madame Albertazzi's (the singer) father and brother, who were musicians with Evans.

Recited in the battery in front of Quebrantoes, the 26th July, 1833, by Joaquim Pedro Celestino Soares. To the defenders of the ancient, most noble, always loyal, and unconquered city of Oporto, and to its heroic inhabitants.*

Tremei escravos vís, de um vil Tyranno
Que a Patria acórda á voz do Porto Invicto.
Não mais ser Liberal sera delicto
Que o dia en fim chegou do desengano.

Lisbon sacudio o jugo insano
Que outr'ora supportou com rosto afflito
Do Algarve não ficou um só districto
Que a ella não corresse a todo o panno.

Parabens, Pedro, Patria, Liberdade,
Parabens da Rainha defensores,
Parabens habitantes da cidade.

Que o bando immudeeca dos oppressores
Pedro subio hoje á eternidade
E o Porto se adornou de flores.

TRANSLATION.

Tremble, base slaves of a tyrant vile,
To the voice of the unconquered city see the country awake;
No longer to be a Liberal shall it be a crime;
The day at last is come to be undeceived.

Lisbon has shaken off the maddening yoke
Which erst she bore with sore afflicted front;
And Algarve's kingdom counts not one spot
Whence her sons rush not with breathless haste.

Hail! Pedro, country, Liberty;
Hail! brave defenders of the Queen,
And hail! great people of this noble city.

Stricken dumb is the oppressor's band;
This day is Pedro's place among the gods,
And Porto, the unconquered, is wreathed in flowers.

* Oporto is also called "the City of the Virgin." The arms are a castle, with a figure of the Virgin in a shield; the crest a griffin; motto, "Cidade invicta."

Oporto, 26th July.—All were steadily and watchfully under arms very early in the morning, but the enemy's camp was still as death! The Scotch and some others had fresh meat for their supper the preceding evening, but it was Miguelite horse-flesh.

H.B.M. steamer 'Echo' kept her steam up all day, it being reported that Dom Pedro would go in her to Lisbon. This was a ruse. Had he gone on board the 'Echo,' he would have been too near the enemy in its now frantic state, and they might have had a shot at him, although under the protection of the British flag. At 10 p.m. there was much firing at the Foz, for by this time the enemy had a suspicion that Dom Pedro would embark that night. At 11 p.m. I saw Dom Pedro and some followers pass through Lordello, and at 1 a.m. on the following morning he got off in safety to Lisbon. During the day it came to my knowledge from the best authority, that the celerity with which he left Oporto, after he heard of the taking of Lisbon, was due to the positive assurance that he would find in the capital the recognition of Donna Maria II. by England and France, the despatches concerning which were only to be opened by himself or daughter in Lisbon.

On the 27th I could not resist visiting the greater portion of our lines, to satisfy myself as to the poor arrangements of sand and stone that had assisted so materially in our signal success. I could not help lingering at the Saldanha and Pasteleiro batteries, and the Flecha dos Mortos—they were for us sacred spots. The enemy bombarded all night.

On the 28th we were under arms early, for there was an idea that Bourmont might try to surprise us. As all seemed quiet and likely to continue so, I had leave to quit my post and dined on board the 'Echo,' with others from

our side. Captain Otway, when I was leaving, said, "Take your papers and plans with you, for I do not think you will ever be disturbed again in Oporto by Bourmont."

29*th*.—The Miguelites showed a large force at Ayreosa.

Having a little leisure, I got a few details of the Duke of Terceira's admirable generalship in the south, and his entrance into Lisbon, a worthy reward for his daring and unflinching endeavours in the cause of his country.

It will be recollected that he sailed with Napier from Oporto about the 20th June, in command of 2500 men.

My journal only gives the following:—"The Duke of Terceira entered Lisbon on the 24th July. Among other things said of him was that he had broken the chains of slavery in which for years Portugal had been imprisoned. On the 22nd he was at Setubal with a handful of men; on the 23rd he advanced upon Almada, when the Pedroites killed in fair fight the cruel monster Telles Jordão; on the 24th, the Duke of Cadaval ran away from Lisbon, having 6000 men under his command, and very many armed monks." However, this expedition appears to me to be so distinguished an episode in the history of the war, that I cannot refrain from giving an extract from the "British Officer of Hussars:" *—

Napier anchored in the Bay of Cacella on the 24th June. The Duke of Terceira got into Faro, the capital of the Algarves on the 27th, the enemy retiring as he advanced, he being well received by the people. The Duke kept the coast, during his march, so that the fleet might co-operate. He wished to measure lances with Baron Molellos, the Miguelite chief opposed to him, but he contented himself with leading the way from town to town, and during his retreat his troops committed horrid atrocities. Suspected men were dragged from their homes, and their families suffered all the horrors that an ignorant, devastating populace, with the strongest passions, could invent.

* "Civil War." p. 229. See also C. Napier's "Account of the War."

Terceira, ably surrounded by his officers and men, and leaving behind a liberal proportion of troops from his *little force*, to threaten the flank of Molellos, with only 1500 infantry and 16 lancers, mounted on mere ponies, boldly dashed at the main object of his and Napier's instructions—the occupation of the capital.

This march was so rapid, so unexpected by the enemy, that, in haste and confusion, when it was known to them, they sent General Telles Jordão with 3000 men and three squadrons of cavalry across the Tagus from Lisbon to co-operate with Molellos. Terceira, now committed, pressed on hardily, and he was followed up by the suddenly roused Molellos.

Jordão's troops showed little firmness. They always retreated from one position to another as he approached, merely skirmishing. It was therefore evident he intended to wait upon a plain nearer to the Tagus, where he would have the advantage of ground for his cavalry. So it proved, for so soon as the Caçadores under Schwalbach debouched, they were charged most impetuously, when the old campaigner, now in his glory, repulsed them, and, following up the blow, at a rush took the Miguelite light artillery in position.

The enemy, confounded, only thought of a regular retreat; but as the Duke had neither front, flank, nor rear, enveloped as he found himself, seeing that it was his last throw, he dashed forward to Cacilhas (opposite to Lisbon), either to cut off the enemy's retreat, or be overwhelmed.

The work of destruction then commenced among the panic-stricken mass of all arms and grades. Some sought protection in the merciless wave and were lost. Many unable to fight or fly gave themselves up to the (supposed) more merciless foe, and were saved. Telles Jordão was amongst the killed, and the number of the Miguelite prisoners exceeded that of the Pedroite conquerors.

Yet still there was a resisting force in Almada, and Schwalbach's aide was sent with a flag of truce to summon them to surrender, when some cavalry, desperate from their late defeat, and courageous against a single man, mortally wounded him.

Next day the castle surrendered, and the flag of Donna Maria was seen floating in the air by the inhabitants of the capital, which place having been abandoned in the most cowardly manner by the Duke of Cadaval, responded to its elevation by salutes of artillery.

Every assistance was given to the Duke of Terceira by the inhabitants of Lisbon in crossing his force over the Tagus, that he might not be enveloped by twice his numbers under Molellos, encumbered as he was with prisoners; and thus was the capital of Portugal taken by the daring and prompt manœuvre of a general commanding only 1500 infantry and sixteen lancers; out-manœuvring and beating in detail 6,000 men on one

side of the Tagus, and alarming, to the evacuation of the most important place in the kingdom, a garrison of 6000 men under the Duke de Cadaval.* These extraordinary events must ever be reflected upon with astonishment and admiration. Here the younger soldier Terceira, "the letter-carrier," deceived the grey-headed veteran Molellos; the pupil of Beresford and Wellington out-manœuvred the disciple of Bacelar and Silveira.†

Return we to Oporto. An extraordinary gazette, (dated 29th) gave an account of the "Glorious 25th." The names of the soldiers decorated only appeared; those of the officers would be published afterwards. Colonel Fonseca, in his report of special services rendered, particularly recommended the rocket brigade, and gave me a good service certificate for my work on the 25th.

CERTIFICATE FOR SERVICE ON THE 25TH JULY.

(*Translation.*)

I certify that Mr. Wm. Bollaert, Volunteer in the 1st Battalion of Artillery, was, on the 25th July, in command of the Congreve rockets in the Lordello lines, which service he performed to my entire satisfaction, for the destruction the rockets caused the enemy, as well as for his activity, intelligence, and his bravery during the whole of that glorious action.

(Signed) JOZE DA FONSECA,
Colonel of Cavalry.

* Before the Duke of Terceira entered Lisbon, there was still a pause; the flag of Donna Maria was hoisted, pulled down, and again re-hoisted. Great doubt still remained, but some foreigners assisting, and hiring a few gallegos, re-hoisted the flag of the Queen at St. George and some other conspicuous places, upon which the British squadron in the Tagus immediately fired a salute. A salute from the British squadron to a Portuguese flag had not been heard for years. The Portuguese, too happy to be quiet, said, "Oh, the English have at length decided, and, consequently, we will not stir." Lisbon therefore became constitutional.—Badcock, p. 307.

† Napier says:—"The march of Napoleon from Frejus to Paris has been thought the boldest and finest piece of strategy on record. Terceira placed the Queen's colours opposite to Lisbon without knowing that a squadron was at hand to support him; for he had no communication from me, nor was it in my power to send him any till he had left Setubal."

Provisions of all sorts were now pouring into Oporto, and if we were again to be starved, we were having a pleasant reprieve.

At 7 p.m. the enemy were heard to give repeated rounds of vivas, and illuminated their Serralves battery. Their chiefs had lent themselves to the propagation among their soldiers of the following—that the Duke of Cadaval had made a prisoner of Dom Pedro! and that Lisbon was in their hands again! We afterwards learnt that a *Te Deum* had been celebrated in their churches for the victory over and destruction of the Pedroite fleet! The same had been done for the destruction of Terceira's expeditionary force!

The next day, the 30th, Lordello* held a levée; the devoted spot was one of the lions of the lines. It was with some pride I escorted Captain Robert Otway of the 'Echo,' Lord George Paulet of the 'Nautilus,' and other British naval officers and civilians round our charmed post. They came to the conclusion that we had been lucky fellows indeed not to have been cut into mincemeat, and if the enemy had the quantity, we had the quality on our side. Otway took me on board the 'Echo' to dine with him, when I met Captain Glascock and other naval officers. Colonel Badcock went on board the 'Orestes' with Colonel Sorrell to meet Baron de Haber, who had proposals to make respecting the disposal of the wines at Villa Nova. On board the 'Echo' I heard that the enemy were leaving the

* I seldom had the time to describe places; what was going on I jotted down in a note-book. The village of Lordello has an interesting and picturesque position, Alexander observes, "with its handsome church, stone cross, and houses with vine-trellises and gardens. It was here my countrymen (the Scotch and Rifles) had been so long posted, and so closely invested all the time of the siege by the Miguelites, that a road and two walls only divided them, and if a button was shown "ping" went a bullet at it immediately."

north lines and even backing from before Oporto towards Coimbra. Deserters were now numerous, dozens at a time, from whom we got useful information. We still had bombardment at intervals.

Colonel Dodgin offered me an ensigncy in his regiment. I was obliged to him, but preferred the blue uniform to the red. I had got to be fond of big guns, howitzers, mortars, and especially rockets. Then I had a lieutenancy of artillery in perspective, which was equal to a captaincy of the line. Moreover, I was pleasing myself in my present scientific-military occupation.

Napier* informs us that Dom Pedro was received in Lisbon with the greatest enthusiasm :—

Before the steamer with the royal standard had passed Belem, the now peaceful waters of the Tagus bore on their surface all the beauty and fashion of Lisbon, decked out in blue and white colours, hastening to meet and welcome the Emperor to the capital of his ancestors. I was the first on board, and was met on the gangway by the Emperor, who fairly pulled me out of the boat and embraced me. He gave me the credit of having placed the Queen upon the throne. He was frank and kind, and I ever found him so to the day of his death.

He proceeded to the arsenal, and, I believe, threw away his sword, thinking he should have no further occasion for it. I accompanied Dom Pedro to the first mass he heard. During the service he made several remarks on the ceremonies, and asked whether I did not think a man might be a good Catholic and a good Christian without so much mummery.

On the arrival of the Queen and the Emperor, the Emperor gave a dinner at the Necessidades. The dinner was plain, and by no means on an expensive scale.† He was a great economist, and looked himself into all the expenses.

* "Account of the War."

† He was so simple in his diet that his aides-de-camp complained of his ill-provided table. He drank only water, excepting when the toast was proposed to "Ma chere Amelie," or Donna Maria II.; he rose with the sun at all times, and by star-light when necessary; he retired at ten. Unostentatious to an extreme in his dress, when requested to say what

He was hasty and indiscriminate in his partialities and friendships; to speak ill to him of the objects was to strengthen the ties. He had learned this suspicion and opposition to intrigue in his father's court. He was not easily turned from already formed opinions—he was obstinate.

He was mercifully inclined as his father, for he detested executions in cold blood; the day a man was shot, as a deserter, he refused to appear at an entertainment purposely prepared for him. He struck out eleven from a list of twelve that had been condemned, and contrary to the strenuous remonstrances of his ministers and generals, who pointed out to him the necessity of rigour towards deserters. He was fond of children, and always caressed them. All applicants for place or pardon he referred to his ministers; when he was once decided he was inflexible—"The law must take its course; I cannot alter it." That he was brave none will dispute. He abhorred a thief, a liar, or a coward. He was remarkable for vivacity in conversation.

Dom Pedro had the satisfaction, after twenty-six years of absence, of entering the palace of his ancestors; having passed the greater part of his life in a sea of strange vicissitudes. On the 13th of August the British Government formally recognised his daughter as Donna Maria II., the legitimate Queen of Portugal.

Various anecdotes had led observers to form the opinion that Dom Pedro, after he had landed in Portugal, was acting a part—he was closely observed. His eye was rapid, and after an instant spent in keen scrutiny of the individual presented to him, he finished by some question much to the purpose of the moment, but often upon a subject on which the person presented was least prepared to be interrogated. His observations were short, with much point, leaning to a sarcastic playful slang; yet, when in formal court, the Queen not present, he bridled up and acted the Emperor. With his attendants he was alternately the hail-fellow-well-met, and the proudest of the proud. Walking or riding in the streets he never turned to look back.

Though accustomed to the indolence of the Brazilians, he was at home in giving energy to the Portuguese—he would hear of no delay, much less of impossibilities.*

uniform or orders he would wear, he would reply—"None; you coxcombs think of nothing else." Yet he was no republican; he detested the character; he had known too many of the blackest dye. Willing to give the noble animal that bore him his head, that his paces might be free, he held the rein, though slack, ever ready; and he knew how to use it, and the whip and spur too, when needful.]

* "Civil War."

CHAPTER XVIII.

AUGUST.

Miguelites retreating—The port wine at Villa Nova, Baron de Haber's proposals to Saldanha not accepted—Siege now a blockade—Loss of life during the siege—Visit to the Serra—Shaw takes Serralves battery, Fonseca savage, Saldanha in great glee—Shaw leads his men into the Queijo and Castro batteries—Fine military architecture—Visit N. S. de Matozinhos—N. S. de Lujan—The French General Clouet mines the wine stores at Villa Nova; De Haber uses every means to prevent the destruction of the wine—Enemy bombard occasionally—Hospitality of British naval officers—16th, Clouet had left orders with D'Almar to blow up the port wine; about 2 p.m. some 27,000 pipes of port blown up; the Douro a river of negus; Saldanha thunderstruck!—18th, Saldanha's brilliant sortie and raising of the siege—How to have taken Oporto—Drive enemy from Villa Nova—Deserters becoming "good men"—Portuguese ballad, *Saudades*—Rumoured death of Ferdinand VII., Don Carlos and family banished to Portugal—Real friends advise Dom Miguel to come to terms; he is obstinate—Dodgin's sortie across the river—Bourmont gone off to take Lisbon (?)—Louis Philippe recognises Donna Maria—Saldanha considers he should be in Lisbon, his own account, he leaves Sir Thomas Stubbs as governor—Excursions—Treasure-trove—Stubbs' sortie on Azurara, &c., take much artillery, including the "João Paulo" gun.

AUGUST 1ST.—In consequence of the retreat of a portion of the Miguelite army from before Oporto towards Lisbon, we expected that the port wine in the stores at Villa Nova, principally Miguelite property, would be taken by us as a prize; but a meeting was arranged on board H.M.S. 'Orestes,' between General Saldanha, on the part of the Pedroites, and Baron Maurice de Haber, the confidential and financial friend of Dom Miguel, concerning the disposal of the wine. Colonel Shaw* says:—"Saldanha

* "Memoirs," ii. p. 66.

proposed at the first interview with Baron de Haber, that the wine should be sent to England, there sold, and the proceeds lodged in the Bank of England, not to be touched by the contending parties, which offer was at once accepted by de Haber; but from some intrigue or mismanagement this fair transaction was not carried into effect." Saldanha saw that the Miguelites were moving some of the guns out of their batteries and evacuating their lines preparatory to attacking Lisbon, consequently he believed the wines must soon, as a matter of course, be ours, which we would sell and turn into cash.

We heard that Napier, on his way south, had visited Peniche, to the north of Lisbon, one of the strongest fortifications in Portugal. It would seem that he frightened the governor, who decamped with his garrison; and the crew of the 'Eugenie,' which had a few days before been wrecked there, he at once liberated.

In the *Gazette* of the 3rd, among other favourable observations relating to the 25th July, my rocket brigade came in for its share; and I got a gratification for the lancers Colonel Bacon had lent me.

We knew that Dom Miguel had left and gone before Lisbon; the enemy continued dismantling their batteries, and our spies informed us that many of the heavy guns, not easily to be got away, were being buried. Deserters were coming in freely.

On the 6th the enemy set fire to all they could burn of the Candal battery. On the same day I was on board the 'Echo' when Viscount Torrebello, a Miguelite general, came to take leave of Captain Otway; he then went on board the 'Orestes' and 'Nautilus,' for the same purpose. This looked ominous.

Colonel Badcock went with the English consul on board

the 'Orestes' on the 6th, to confer about the disposal of the wine at Villa Nova. The siege was now changed to a blockade; and it was generally stated that 10,000 civilians and 5000 soldiers had perished of the Pedroites during the siege. There had been thirty attacks or more of the enemy; many sorties on our part, a lengthened period of famine, camp fever and fatal cholera. The loss of the Miguelite army alone was put down at 23,000 men.

We had an idea on the 8th that the enemy intended to make a dash at the city. I was ordered to keep my rockets in readiness. Later in the day, as there seemed nothing to apprehend, I treated myself to a visit to the Serra Convent,* the wonderful defence of which by Torres will ever be a bright page in Portuguese history. It was to all appearance a mass of ruins; still there was good defensible stuff left. It was computed that 12,000 shells and 5000 shot had been fired at and into this once beautiful convent. Whilst I was there several deserters came in to the fortress, including an officer and his picket, driving before them twenty oxen.

Colonel Badcock and the English consul had a long

* "The Convent of the Frades Cruzios, commonly called the Serra. Its revenues were about £4000 a year, and none but men of noble rank could enter the brotherhood. The church was round, with a domed roof; there were delightful gardens, with statues, fountains, and fish-ponds; water was supplied by a fine aqueduct. Some time after Dom Pedro had taken possession of the city, the Serra Convent was occupied as a military post, and became the Hougoumont of the subsequent struggle. The Miguelites, in their first attack, obtained possession of the threshing-floor at the east; they were driven out by a desperate effort, and never penetrated so far again. The magnificent oaks and chestnuts were all cut down; thousands of trees perished for the sake of making palisades, and the exquisite beauty of the southern bank of the Douro was utterly ruined. The convent walls were completely cut to pieces with shot, and the only remains of the gardens are a few roses which still climb about the place."—"Murray's Hand-Book of Portugal," 1856.

interview with Saldanha on the subject of Baron de Haber's proposition respecting the wines. Badcock thought his offer very fair, but they could come to no agreement. The Miguelites now threatened to destroy the wine.

At 2 a.m on the 9th Colonel Shaw, who had long had his eye upon his old persecutor, the Serralves battery in his front, started with a few followers * to reconnoitre it. They got into this rather formidable battery, but found no enemy. Shaw sent Mr. Murray to Colonel Fonseca for a Donna Maria flag. This was the first of the enemy's batteries we had got into. Will it be believed, when Fonseca heard of Shaw's act, he flew into a tremendous rage, and sent me off to Shaw, ordering him to his lines? We were all mad enough not to see at daylight Donna Maria's flag hoisted there. Fonseca reported Shaw to Saldanha, but the General admired the early morning amusement very much, and applauded it accordingly. Shaw says, in his "Memoirs,"—"I called the piper, got twenty men on the highest part of the battery, and gave three of the loudest cheers that so many men ever gave." Then the old story, "Piper, blow, d——n you, blow!"

Sir C. Shaw writes me in regard to this:—"At daybreak on the 9th, with a small party, I entered the embrasures of the enemy's battery of Serralves. The Highland bagpiper from the ramparts played so loudly that all our troops from Lordello to Oporto were made aware that the Scotch were in the advanced lines of the enemy. When I entered the Serralves battery, I was recalled by Fonseca. He was reprimanding me most sharply for the movement when Saldanha arrived galloping from Oporto. He threw himself from his horse, and took me almost in his arms."

* I was one of this party. I returned shortly to my rocket station, when Fonseca sent to me, to take a message of recall to Shaw.

Shaw got off that same morning to the Foz and led the English and Irish into the battery of Monte Castro.

I shortly visited the Castro and Queijo batteries; they were very fine works. If the Miguelite batteries and other field-works were fine specimens of military architecture, the name of our Colonel Barrieros must not be forgotten as the able and energetic engineer officer, to whom we owed the erection of so many of ours, and, taking into consideration our want of means, he did his work admirably.

Badcock visited the Serralves, Monte Castro, and other batteries abandoned by the Miguelites, and says:—"I then saw their strength, and how completely we had been fenced in, and that most probably, had a sortie been made, it would have ended in complete destruction, and as Solignac had said, 'Two hours would have decided the fate of Portugal.'"

Sunday, 10*th*.—Captain Otway accompanied me by the Foz to Matozinhos, when we saw abundance of trout in the Leça. Our principal object was to visit "Nosso Senhor" of that place. The history of this wonderful image has been largely written upon by Portuguese authors. I examined the "Nosso Senhor" with some attention, and although it was magnificently habited, it was not in any way a good specimen of the carving art.

Until the period of our visit the cura and sacristan had been good Miguelites; they now thought they had better turn Pedroites.

NOSSO SENHOR DE MATOZINHOS, AND NUESTRA SENORA DE LUJAN.

Matozinhos is celebrated for the most famous of

miraculous images, and 30,000 pilgrims at least annually visit it. The legend is as follows :—

Nicodemus made five wooden images of Christ. One is in Syria, one at Lucca, one at Burgos, one at Orense, and this. The image was thrown into the sea at Joppa, in order to avoid profanation, floated down the Mediterranean, was dashed against the side of the Straits of Gibraltar, and lost its left arm ; was thence washed into the Atlantic, and on May 3rd, A D. 117, was thrown ashore near the rocks called the Leixoes; and here they say no shipwreck has occurred from that time. A church having been built for its reception, it was endeavoured to fit on a left arm, but none would ever adhere to the body. Fifty years afterwards an old woman, picking up wood on the sea-shore, found an oddly-shaped piece that bore some resemblance to an arm. When she attempted to light her fire with it, to her astonishment it leaped out into the middle of the room ; and the prodigy having been repeated several times, she very naturally took advice as to what it might mean. Some one suggesting that it might possibly be the long-lost arm of the miraculous image, it was carried to the church, and then of its own accord it was attracted to its natural place, to which it has adhered firmly ever since. This tradition the visitor may hear at great length from the sacristan ; it forms the subject of the following work of constant occurrence in Portuguese book-shops :—" His. e Milagres da prodigiosa Imagen de N.S. de Matozinhos."

The following, about Our Lady of Lujan, is from a Spanish work printed at the National Library of Buenos Ayres, 1860, found *in extenso* in Hutchinson's " Paraná, War in Paraguay," &c., 1868. It is offered as a companion to that of the preceding, and as being connected with Portuguese settlers in La Plata :—

In 1630, some Portuguese, settled in the province of Cordova, sent to Brazil for a statue of the Virgin. Two were forwarded. On the first day from Buenos Ayres, the packages in a bullock-cart stopped for the night, where Lujan now stands.

The next morning the bullocks could not move the cart. On one of the images being taken out, the cart moved. Here was a divine manifestation, and the image was left. A little chapel was built for it, when it performed many miraculous cures. So frequent were the miracles that pilgrims flocked in untold numbers. It was removed to a house preparatory to putting it into a larger chapel ; however that same night it went back of its own accord. A second time it did the same.

The Bishop Velasco and the Governor of Buenos Ayres took the matter in hand, a multitude in solemn procession, many in bare feet, bearing the image to the new place. Mass was sung for three days, and the image did not return. In 1677 a Portuguese Carmelite friar, Gabriel, superintended the chapel of the statue. In 1684 the Cura Montalvo of Buenos Ayres was cured of hopeless consumption by this Nossa Senhora. He left a legacy of 70 dollars a year to her. Other miracles succeeded. In 1754 Dom Juan Lesica came from Peru, in consequence of a vow he had made, when supposed to be in a dying state; he began to build a larger chapel. Lime had to be brought from Cordova, and although sand had not been previously found nearer than nine leagues, it was now discovered near the spot.

The quantity of gold and silver offerings to be seen there is something extraordinary—crowns, crosses, hearts, chains, with figures of precious metal in hundreds, and the front of the altar is paved with silver. In 1856 some robbers, headed by one named Benites, came to pillage the chapel, taking away a lot of booty early in the morning. The alarm being raised, they were pursued and captured, wandering in different directions, and not able to see their way, from some mysterious cloud that obscured the sight. Benites was slaughtered.

On the 12th, Colonel Fonseca, on being called to Lisbon, gave up his lengthened and gallant command at the Foz to Colonel Pacheco.

We commenced throwing a bridge over the Douro, but the Gaia and Pinhal batteries began firing at the spot, so we gave them a taste of our shot.

As no satisfactory terms could be arrived at about the disposal of the wine at Villa Nova, General Clouet, a Frenchman, who was in command, talked most seriously of blowing it up. He even got some of his guns again into position, but this had no effect on Saldanha.

I dined at this time on board the 'Orestes,' and met at table Baron Maurice de Haber. He was a native of Carlsruhe, Grand Duchy of Baden, where his father was the principal banker. He had married in Paris a French lady, a daughter of Baron de Romilly, the banker to Charles X. He had been the friend of Prince Polignac,

and had emigrated to Scotland with Charles X. For some time past he had been politically and financially assisting Dom Miguel. He was a most agreeable and gentlemanly man, of bland and persuasive manners, and had the reputation of being a judicious Legitimist diplomat.

On the 14th we had heavy stormy weather, with torrents of rain. Vessels at anchor off the bar had to put out to sea for safety. The Gaia battery kept up a fire on certain parts of the city, which was a waste of powder and shot. At Cosmes hotel they were in a position to give a dinner, so I had Captain Otway as my guest. He had given me and others many a meal when we were starving in Oporto. Indeed, at the tables on board the British men-of-war, foreigners, officers in particular, were always welcome, Pedroites as well as Miguelites.

As late as 8 p.m. on the 15th, Baron de Haber proposed, through the English consul, that he should put his official seal on the wine stores in conjunction with the Miguelite Colonel Candido's, so as to save them; which was not acceded to. I knew this to be the real state of affairs, and prepared myself to witness on the following day the biggest blow-up of port wine imaginable.

From midday on the 16th I was on the look-out from the Virtudes battery, when about half-past one p.m. I heard a heavy, hollow, rumbling report, and, looking towards Villa Nova, saw a thick, black, columnar mass of matter ascend and then spread itself over the place. The wine stores had been mined by a French officer, Count d'Almar, and his superior officer, General Clouet, had given the word of command to blow them up.

About 27,000 pipes of port wine, at say, £20 per pipe, equal to £540,000, add £400,000 value of stores, &c., or

nearly the value of a million sterling, had been destroyed at one fell swoop.*

The wine ran in boiling streams down the streets of Villa Nova into the Douro for some time, tingeing the river with its ruddy colour. It was a sorry sight, but there appeared to be a satisfaction that a Portuguese had not committed the act. Would the port wine drinkers, especially the English, ever forgive such an act of French vandalism? Still, port wine in hand in England would fetch higher prices.

Baron de Haber informed the author that he had charge of the negotiation from Dom Miguel as to the fate of the wine in the Oporto Company's stores. Saldanha, whom he saw on the subject on board the 'Orestes,' temporised, and could not be brought to believe that, in case terms were not agreed to, it would be destroyed by the Miguelites, rather than that it should fall into their enemy's hands. The last arrangement proposed by the Baron was that Colonel Sorrell, the English consul, should put his seal upon the property, thus having it under his care; that the wine should be sent, say to London, sold, and the proceeds at the end of the war handed over to the victors. Saldanha would not agree to this; neither would Sorrell take the responsibility of having it placed under the consular seal.

Baron de Haber says that orders were given to blow up only one wine store, just to let Saldanha see they were in

* Under date August 9th, 1834, the *Revista* of Lisbon wrote:—"The loss of the wine at Villa Nova is estimated at £600,000, destroyed by Baron de Haber; the stupid rebel, the Duque de Lafoens, gave the fatal order. The wine was destroyed by the Baron because he could not get the people to buy their own wine to pay for the loan he had contracted for Dom Miguel."

earnest. However, the fact is, that the whole of the Company's wine was destroyed. The Baron went early that morning out of the river to see Lord John Hay, who was off the bar in command of the 'Castor,' and did not hear the explosion. The first intimation he had of the occurrence was on his return, when the boat's crew observed that the river had a red colour, and as he proceeded further up, the sailors tasted the water, which had the flavour of wine.

Captain Glascock observes*:—

D'ye remember, Sam, the Garman Baron? He was the only cool man among 'em. He was very active; he seemed as if he never slept. For upwards of a fortnight he visited the ship ('Orestes') at all hours of the night as well as day, and appeared most anxious to prevent the destruction of the wine.

We sometimes saw General Saldanha, the British consul, Baron de Haber, and all the big-wigs on both sides, closeted in the captain's cabin. But, of course, their talk was all talk, for the wines were blown up The people of Oporto always laughed at the threat. Captain Glascock, at 11.30, went to Saldanha on the day the wine was blown up, to assure him that the deed would be done at 1 p.m. Saldanha replied, "Don't you believe that they will dare to destroy a drop. 'Tis all *talk*. I know my countrymen better than you!" Our captain assured Saldanha that the destruction of the wines was in the hands of a foreigner and a Frenchman. "It will all end in smoke," replied Saldanha. So it did. About twenty minutes after one the wines were blown up. The report of the explosion was comparatively nothing; it was like the pop, pop, pop of a schoolboy's squib; but the volumes of smoke and the flames that followed soon told a terrible tale.

Wine and brandy in boiling and flaming torrents were running in rapid streams down the different lanes leading to the destroyed lodges. It was impossible to approach the scalding vapour floating in the air. We were, therefore, compelled to walk, or rather run, a round of nearly three miles to get in the rear, as well as to windward of the fire. Fortunately there was a well of water in the rear of the wines, for the boiling flood prevented any approach to the river's side. It was near four o'clock before

* "Naval Sketchbook."

we got well to work. We borrowed an engine from the town. A midshipman in the barge attempted to take it up the river, but the hot fire and hotter *flood*, compelled him to return to the ship. I don't know how many pipes were blown away, but I'm blest if you could see a single stave afore we left. I never had a notion of the infernal regions before. Pat Flynn said, "Oh, murder!" when he got sight of the boiling torrents which were fast discolouring the river, "if it doesn't bate the *Red* Say. Well, they can't say they haven't brought both these big rivers to *rhyme* —for if they've the river Tagus, they've now the river *Nagus!*"

Captain Glascock,* alarmed for the safety of British property, summoned every ship's crew, and landed at Villa Nova to check the progress of the flames where they might endanger it. D'Almar, infuriated at the sight of a few armed British marines, proudly demanded why Captain Glascock appeared there with an armed force? Words grew loud, but the Count was overmatched; Captain Glascock was too cool, too determined in the just execution of his duty; and, in spite of the violent gesticulations and muttered threats of the commander of thousands, with his little handful of willing fellows, he most assuredly saved British property to an immense amount.

On the night of the 16th, the son of the principal pilot at the Foz was enticed to the opposite side, by demonstrations, to bring a boat to aid a party to desert. On his going there he was cruelly shot.

On the 17th, at 10 p.m., when snugly turned in, the greater portion of the Foz and Lordello divisions were ordered into the city. On the following day, the 18th, at 5 a.m., we at Lordello heard much firing about Bomfim. I was ordered with rockets to the Valongo road. Our troops began entering the enemy's batteries. Dodgin's men took that of Dom Miguel, making 150 prisoners; the lancers took much baggage. Saldanha was hard at it in our front. At 6 p.m. the rockets were ordered to Bomfim, where I saw Saldanha looking most joyous at the drubbing he had given to the retiring foe. Our loss was about 120,

* "Civil War."

including 20 officers. This was a general sortie, driving the enemy from their lines as far as Valongo.

The "Hussar Officer,"* who was looking on, makes the following observations on this brilliant affair:—

Saldanha, aware that the Miguelites to the north had thrown back their right, abandoning their batteries on that flank, moved out to force their retreat, covering, as they then did, the main road to Valongo. He manœuvred well, and concentrated his three columns on the destined point, the Valongo heights, with great precision as to time, and in good military style. The enemy made a demonstration of resistance, but when he threatened their flanks they retreated. He had completely surprised them at daybreak and very nearly took General Jozé Cardozo prisoner, whose baggage fell into the hands of the lancers. Some hundreds of prisoners, and large quantities of ammunition, all marked "For Riflemen," were the results of this day's parting kick to the Miguelites—by far the best executed sortie during the siege.

This we called our battle outside the lines, which obliged the enemy to raise the lengthened siege of Oporto.

That night the 'Echo' steamer left for Lisbon, taking the news of the blowing-up of the wine at Villa Nova, and Saldanha's successful sortie as a little revenge.

OFFICIAL DETAILS.

The enemy had abandoned on the north the positions of Castro, Ervilha and Serralves, establishing themselves at Contemil in front of the Antas, having in their rear the large redoubt of Real. The intention of the enemy was to draw the Liberals out, in the hope of a victory over them.

Saldanha offered them this chance. The three abandoned redoubts were occupied by some of the English. The battalion of the Minho was at Lordello, and in observation on the shores of the Douro. Half a battalion of Millinet's was at Francos and Prelada. The Quinta of Van Zeller had four companies of the national Fixos, the rest protected the exterior works of the city, and the provisional battalion was on the lines.

* "Civil War."

General Canavarro was ordered at daybreak to sound the general call for all the armed to go to the lines, as was the custom when thus notified.

Saldanha at midnight was on the ground between Carvalhido and Van Zeller, where he formed his force, consisting of the 10th cavalry, the lancers, a brigade of artillery, and two of infantry; the first composed of the 10th and 15th regiments, one battalion of movables, and a force under Pacheco; the second had the 9th regiment, four companies of English, the Scotch, and a battalion of English under Colonel Dodgin. At one in the morning this force marched in the direction of Padrão de la Laguna, when Saldanha formed it into two columns. Half-an-hour before daybreak they went by two roads in the direction of S. Mamede, the right commanded by Saldanha, the left by Valdez.

The enemy's pickets were surprised, and the rapidity with which the march upon S. Mamede was made dislodged at once the 10th regiment of the enemy from the church, by the 10th Liberals, after which the lancers and the 10th cavalry cut them up. The same fate attended their 1st battalion of Caçadores, and 1st of Realengos; the carnage was horrible.

The columns of the Liberals continued their onward march, when they ound the enemy in line in front of the batteries of Real and Contemil.

Colonel Xavier, with a column, attacked at once the enemy's left. The Volunteers of Donna Maria went at the Forte Real, where they met with resistance and some loss.

General Zagallo with his column attacked the left of the enemy's line on the Ponte de Campanha, continuing his movements on the left.

The Liberals generally marched on the enemy's positions, which were taken without much opposition. The enemy fled in the direction of Valongo, suffering much from our artillery. Our cavalry followed, and at Vendas Novas, a league from the city, made a fine charge. Here the enemy, taking advantage of the locality, formed two squadrons of their 8th cavalry and their mounted police, sustained by infantry in position. Notwithstanding their superior numbers Colonel Nepomuceno charged upon their cavalry, which he damaged badly and put to flight, as well as their infantry. He then united himself with the other forces that crowned the heights.

Forte S. Miguel surrendered to Colonel Dodgin, who remained there.

All the Miguelite force was now on the heights of Valongo; it would have been imprudent at that moment to go into their front; so Saldanha, after resting his troops awhile, marched by a road, unobserved, in the direction of a height known as Mulher Muerta—the dead woman. Forming his men into three columns, he advanced so rapidly on the extremities of

the enemy's line that they fled, and were followed by the lancers to the heights of Ponte Ferreira. This concluded Saldanha's memorable and victorious sortie. On the troops returning to the city they were received by the inhabitants with every demonstration of gratitude.

Major Fautoura made a sortie on the south with troops he got from the Serra Convent, preventing assistance crossing the river.

By this masterly operation of Saldanha's, Oporto could be pronounced to be open, which it had not been for a year before. The enemy lost a goodly number in killed and wounded; 245 prisoners were taken, including a major and six other officers, a field-piece, three ammunition waggons, shot, grenades, provisions, and other spoil. A number of Miguelites came over to the Liberals. Saldanha lost 118, including 12 officers.

Thus ended a close Siege of 11 months and 22 days. The 18th of August can never be forgotten by the Portuenses, after such continuous sufferings, occasioned by shot and shell day and night, famine, disease, and devastating cholera. They began to breathe the pure air of the country, they visited the late positions of the enemy, and their hearts swelled with pride and gratitude; they had liberty and were indemnified for the past.

I may observe here that the old, unwieldy, stupid, and despotic system of things in Portugal, upheld by bigotry and fanaticism, was now giving way to a humane and rational form of government.

The defeated enemy were now destroying and burning their works and encampments, so at every flare-up we gave our vivas.

The author of the "Civil War in Portugal" gives the following as his opinion—How to have taken Oporto:—

Had the Miguelites surrounded Oporto with their numerous army in dismal silence, never firing a single shot or shell; had they treated all those who retired from the city with kindness, promising the same to all others who should present themselves; had they solemnly declared that no one should be persecuted for political opinions, and that none should suffer but those who were found in the streets with arms in their hands; had they proclaimed a free oblivious pardon and protection to all who remained within their closed doors on the day of assault (could it have been believed that the promises would have been kept), and had this pro-

clamation been repeatedly issued and signed by Povoas, Oporto would have fallen from sheer *inaction*, from sheer *apathy* and *melancholy*.

We drove the enemy on the 19th from their lines round Villa Nova. On the same day, whilst prisoners were being brought in, principally by the lancers who scoured the country, and deserters becoming "homes de bem," or Pedroites, we received the important news that England had recognised Donna Maria II. as Queen of Portugal. The British men-of-war saluted her flag and our batteries returned the compliment. People generally observed, "It's all up with Dom Miguel;" still there appeared much work to do to end the war. Many merchantmen came into the river with provisions, and preparations were going on to ship what port wine had been saved. That evening there were illuminations, fireworks, and all sorts of rejoicings in Oporto.

Our side now commenced the destruction of the Miguelite batteries we could get at, our advance pickets having a crack now and then at the enemy's stragglers. On the 20th I perambulated the city. Shops that had been so long closed were now busy, and houses, the doors of which had been so long barred and bolted, had their windows thrown open and joyous sounds of song were heard. The following was one, a modinha, or plaintive ballad; the air is from the opera of "Semiramide"—"Un Traditor:"—

Joven Lilia, abandonada
Por sen lindo ingrato amante,
Solitaria, delirante
Divagava em seu jardin
E ás florinhas, que a cercavão
A chorar, dizia assim:

Vosso fado, e curta vida
Quanto invejo, ó minhas flores

Se gozáes breves amores
Co' a existencia os acabaes :
Eu perdi ternos afagos
E inda existo entre mortals.

N'istò aos olhos por acaso
Se lhe ofreçe alvo Narciso
Corre a Ninfa e de improviso
N'aõ, Quer a flor aos pes calcar
Que o retrato de um perverso
N'aõ se deve, conservar.

Sobre ó pé da tenra planta
Vingativa alçava (a dextra)
Porem treme, evita, e pára
N'aõ se atreve à ser cruel ;
Vive, diz o linda imagem
Do meu barbaro, infiel.

Vive ó flor, e ás inespertas
Qual eu fui, traze á memoria
De Echo afflita a escura historia
Triste victima de amor.
Vive e lembrem—se as ingratas
Qual se pune, atroz rigor.

TRANSLATION.

Young Lilia, forsaken
By her ungrateful lover,
In pining solitude,
Wandered about her garden,
And to the flowers around her
In tears she addressed these words :—

" Your fate and your short life,
How I envy them, my flowers ;
If your loves be short,
Still with existence they are ended ;
I have lost tender caresses,
But still exist among mortals."

On this, chancing her eyes to rest on
A lovely white Narcissus,
The nymph starts forward, and
Under her feet would crush the flower—
For the portrait of one perverse
May not be preserved.

Upon the stem of the tender flower
Revengeful her hand she raises,
Then trembling, hesitates—pauses—
Nor can she dare to be so cruel.
"Live," she cries, "oh, lovely image
Of my faithless truant lover!

"Live, O flower, and to the memory
Of the simple, as I have been, recall
Echo's dark afflicting history,
And tell of the sad victim of love.
Live, but let all ingrates remember
How faithless cruelty should be punished."

We heard from within the crowded cafés hearty and affectionate recognitions, as "Tive, muitas *saudades* suas"—Yes, I had tender regrets of thee.

Through the kindness of a friend I am enabled to offer the following on that pretty and endearing word—

SAUDADES,

a Portuguese word said to be without an equivalent in any other language for extent of meaning and tenderness of expression, indicating the fondest recollections of, the most profound solicitude concerning, and the most ardent longing after, absent persons, places, and things:—

One cheerless day, when drear and lone,
O'erwhelm'd with sorrow all my own,
I sought the solitary shore,*
And sat me down amidst the roar

* Of Oporto.

Of ruthless waves, that mock'd my sighs
And dashed their spray to louring skies.
Unheard my plaints, I walk'd the strand
And traced a word upon the sand.
That word so dear to cares profound,
Unspelt by those whom joys surround,
When known by heart doth pain endear—
Breathes hope in sighs that own the tear
Of anxious doubts, intense desire,
Now chill'd with fear, now rapt in fire,
Longing ever for whom and where
Fond mem'ry dwells with all that's dear.
Saudades! hail the word of joy,
Delight and pain in sweet alloy,
That Lysia's sons so oft express
In ardent strains of tenderness
When absence prompts their fond distress.
Saudades! born of that sweet love
Which gilds the cottage, charms the grove,
Delights the heart, expands the soul,
Makes social life harmonious roll,
Great Nature's own and first behest,
That all that live might e'er be blest!

T. I. S.

It was rumoured that Ferdinand VII. of Spain had died; but he rallied. His brother, Don Carlos, with his wife, three sons and the Princess of Beira, had been for some time banished from Madrid, through the efforts of the Spanish Liberal party. The fugitives were wanderers in Portugal under the protection of Dom Miguel, and considering his present unsatisfactory position, must have felt themselves rather unpleasantly placed.

The wife of Don Carlos and the Princess of Beira were sisters of Dom Miguel; and as Dom Miguel was the rallying point of the Legitimists in Portugal, so was Don Carlos that of the same party in Spain.

Dom Miguel's *real* friends now proposed to him to come

to terms with Donna Maria's government—any terms, seeing how critical his position was. But as flatterers were in the majority, those pressed him to hold on. Such persons must have firmly believed in miracles, and all about "Nosso Senhor de Matozinhos!"

Dom Pedro demanded troops of Oporto, and they were sent, regardless of the consequences to our small garrison.

I accompanied Colonel Dodgin and his command, and other troops, on the 21st, from Lordello, and a gay march we had of it to the city, then across the Douro to Villa Nova, which looked wretched enough before the blow-up of the wine, but now it presented the most forlorn condition. There stood the glorious Serra Convent on the left, which we could not pass without giving Torres and his companions loud vivas and hurrahs.

We continued a quick march onwards through Villa Nova for some distance, in the hope of coming up with a retreating column of the enemy. But they had got too far on the road to Lisbon for us, so we returned leisurely back to Oporto, arriving at early morn.

A considerable division of the enemy was now established at four leagues from the city, their centre being at Santo Thirzo, their right on Villa do Conde, and their left on Melres. The division on the south of the Douro abandoned their position and removed to Souto-Redondo. Bourmont had gone off towards Lisbon with 17,000 men, 1200 cavalry, and 30 pieces of artillery, to join Molellos and the Duke of Cadaval, who had fled from before the Pedroites under Terceira.

On the 23rd Saldanha was preparing to go to Lisbon.

On the 24th, our excellent governor, General Saldanha, left for Lisbon, taking with him the 5th Caçadores, the 10th regiment of the line (the 15th had gone a few days

before), some lancers, and a lot of volunteers. Sir Thomas Stubbs was left in his place with some 2500 regulars and 50 or 60 cavalry. There had been fighting before Lisbon, but little fear was expressed that the Miguelites would do much good. We got the news that Louis Philippe had recognised Donna Maria.

On Sunday, the 25th August,* the British residents could attend their place of worship without fear, and the clergyman's (Mr. Whiteley) voice at the Protestant Church was no longer drowned by the noise of cannon. They mutually congratulated each other at the church door, and no doubt returned sincere thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance.

The Conde de Rilvas,† Secretary of the Portuguese Legation in London, gave me the following, in 1867, in regard to Saldanha leaving Oporto for Lisbon :—

Colonel Calça e Pina arrived in a steamer at Oporto from Lisbon on the 19th August, with orders (to Saldanha) to raise the siege (which was done on the following day, the 20th)‡ and to take back with him the 5th Caçadores, 10th regiment of the line, some lancers and volunteers. Seeing these troops embark, Saldanha was anxious to get away from Oporto, and Colonel Calça e Pina took upon himself the responsibility of adhering to Saldanha's request and transported him also to Lisbon, sailing on Saturday, the 24th.

I may observe that it was considered in Oporto that Dom Pedro had sent for Saldanha to go to Lisbon, but from the above account it would not look so; and I am informed by the Conde de Rilvas that when Dom Pedro heard of Saldanha's arrival he was much surprised and not pleased. For now he would have the great rivals Saldanha and Villa Flor about him.

* Badcock, p. 325.

† Son-in-law of Calca e Pina, Conde de Rilvas.

‡ Calça e Pina's date does not agree with the facts, for the siege was raised on the 18th.

Saldanha's account, from the Cintra letter, p. 97, 1866, *in "Extraits,"* 1869.

On the 19th August, the aide-de-camp of His Majesty, Calça e Pina, brought me a letter from the Emperor, wherein, in the most delicate terms, His Majesty made me understand how advantageous it would be to raise the siege of Oporto. The Emperor's desire had already been forestalled the day before. On the 17th, at 10 p.m., I had called together the chiefs of the several columns, to whom I gave orders to have the troops under arms at midnight, and I had taken the necessary measures to be ready for the movements that Count D'Almar, who commanded the troops of the enemy, might make, for I knew he was a good general. I thought that, enveloping his right, he might form a line to his front, in supporting his left on his fine redoubt, Forte do Rei, for which case I left Xavier and his column *dans la place*, so that he could attack in flank this new line of the enemy at the same moment I should attack in front. I had also foreseen that Count D'Almar might re-form a third time, in supporting his left on the side of our fortifications. To meet this, I had left General Zagallo in the city, so that he might attack in flank, when I was at work in front. D'Almar acted just as I had supposed. He re-formed again on the heights of Valongo, two leagues from Oporto. Between the vedettes of the two armies, I was alone, examining the enemy's position, when my aide-de-camp, Ximenes, came to say that the commanders of the columns wanted to speak with me. I went, after having examined the position. The brave Pacheco in their name spoke, and after having complimented me in the name of the troops, for the *beau fait d'armes* of that day, continued: "But the position the enemy has at this moment is probably the strongest in the kingdom. We are all of opinion that it would be a pity to tarnish the glory of the day in being made to retreat." Putting on an air of severity, known to all who have served with me, but which I only do when it is absolutely necessary, I replied: "I did not march out of Oporto to leave the enemy in sight of the city; when I require advice I will ask it. Demi-tour à droit, à vos colonnes, marche!" Half-an-hour afterwards the position was taken, but I had to deplore the loss of the commander of the 18th of the line, Colonel Eça, who was killed. The enemy was pursued to Baltar, four leagues from Oporto.

On the 19th abundant markets were held in all the streets. There are not the words to describe the joy of the inhabitants, who for so long a time had lived under such privations and under constant showers of balls and shells.

During the days that followed the *Raising of the Siege of Oporto*, the number of deserters from the enemy of infantry and cavalry was great.

Knowing that Bourmont was making forced marches towards Lisbon, I gave up the command of Oporto to Lieut.-General Stubbs, and embarked for the capital with the lancers, and four corps of infantry and Caçadores. On arriving at the Palace of Necessidades, I was received on the staircase by the Emperor and his ministers. His Majesty said, when embracing me: "You are the most extraordinary man in the world. The moment your arrival at the mouth of the Tagus was announced, the Council had decided that you must be called to Lisbon."

Whatever were Saldanha's views as to remaining in command of Oporto before his sortie of the 18th August, and thus raising the siege, his success on that day daringly decided him to go at once to Lisbon. Calça e Pina came from Lisbon to Oporto on the 19th, but brought no orders for him to leave. The latter part of Saldanha's own observations for this period go to show that he left rather on his own account, considering his services, militarily and politically, to be absolutely necessary in Lisbon.

Small parties of the enemy were hovering about the vicinity of Oporto, but did no harm. I examined a huge heap of Miguelite guns, ammunition, and some rockets.

I had now an opportunity, with my worthy friend Mr. Dow, to visit the armazems, or wine stores of the British merchants of Villa Nova—for those of the Portuguese had been nearly all blown up—and drank veritable old port.

A companion could always be found to examine the Miguelite lines and the country around, which, independently of being picturesque, was in places really beautiful; the fields had their crops, the gardens their flowers, and grapes were in abundance—indeed, semi-tropical scenes often presented themselves. Villa Nova and the Serra was the favourite excursion; we had to be cautious on the Valongo and Braga roads; but a favourite tramp was to the devoted Lordello; also to the Serralves and Ervilha batteries, to the gently rolling river Leça, bringing up at the

estalagem or inn at Matozinhos, where, having rested and refreshed, we never failed to have a look at *the* "Nosso Senhor." Our return to the city would be by the Castle of Queijo, Monte Castro; stop for awhile at the Foz, now in ruins; returning by the banks of the Douro to the city.

I now received orders to collect rockets from several points on our lines, and deposit them at the laboratory of the Quinta de Mello.

Whilst at breakfast on the 29th at my billet in Rua do Principe, there came a party to search the lower portion of the house for hidden treasure, when in a drain some £500 worth of cruzados novos was found. Not many days before a lot of silver plate and manufactured gold, chiefly chains, had been discovered in a drain.

I had one find during the worst part of the siege, and it came most opportunely, for I was literally starving, so it did not go to the public treasury—I put it to the credit of promised pay—the account of which is as follows:—

Long before daylight one morning I was stretched out on the bare boards at the picket-house of the Rifles at Lordello, unable to sleep from hunger and cold, my comrades being in about the same plight; our pillows our cartridge-boxes, our only covering our threadbare and thin soldiers' greatcoats; each man with his rifle by his side, ready to be up and doing at a moment's warning. As day dawned I looked around at our miserable condition. Not many were much interested in the political circumstances which had brought us there; a few had come to the theatre of war to learn strategy, and on the field of battle tactics, many for employment, some for glory and promotion—mere soldiers of fortune, having all to win, nothing to lose, but their lives. As for myself I had been disappointed in not obtaining a scientific post in Lon-

don, and in truth I was rather reckless about the present or the future, and unphilosophically left my fate to the chapter of accidents. While in this rather despondent state, my eye caught the end of a piece of string dangling from the cornice of the room, moving about by the cold morning wind that blew upon us. After a time we "turned out" to show ourselves; and in returning to the room to place my rifle there, I jumped up and caught hold of the string, I found some resistance in the attempt to dislodge it. "Suspicions ever haunt," &c., &c. I awaited until my comrades had dispersed, put two or three cartridge-boxes one on the other, and so got hold firmly of the line; I tugged and out came from behind the cornice a small bag, the contents of which were cruzados novos, and amongst them a silver watch. I kept the fact of the find quiet, went to the city, ordered a little dinner for myself and a few chosen comrades, returned to Lordello, and invited them, which took my hungry friends rather by surprise, as they knew cash had been very scarce with all of us. I merely said that I had received a very opportune remittance! and so it was. This little godsend put me in a position to pay some debts, and I gave a few very little dinners.

General Sir Thomas Stubbs was now in command; he was well-known to the people of Oporto, particularly for the defence he made of the city against the incursions of the Silveira-Miguelite party in 1827. On the night of the 29th August he sent 200 of the Donna Maria Volunteers and some horse, under Captain Mesquita, to fall at very early morn of the 30th upon Azurara (known as the sortie on Azurara, Melres, and Lomba); fifteen of the enemy were killed, the rest running away. Mesquita returned to the city with a piece of artillery, arms, and ammunition.

On the same day Captain Bento went up the Douro towards Melres with a party of the 10th Regiment; they had a fight with Miguelite militia and volunteers, and after an hour's work drove off the enemy, capturing ammunition, &c., also four mortars and an 18-pounder, which they brought into the city. At the same time Sergeant Geronimo Pinto, with some volunteers and inhabitants of the village of Feira, being informed that at Lomba, on the Douro, there were two launches laden with artillery, rushed to the spot, put the guard to flight, and captured the launches with their precious cargo, part of which was the great long gun, "João Paulo Cordeiro," also four mortars, shot, shells, six cases of cartridges. and other objects.

The "João Paulo Cordeiro" gun was brought in in triumph, twenty-four bullocks drawing it. It was one of Miller's new guns, an 84-pounder, and threw either shot or shell. The people patted it, as they would have done any wild beast just secured. As before stated, it had been given to Dom Miguel by Senhor João Paulo Cordeiro, the great tobacco monopolist and manufacturer of the "Princeza" snuff, who at that period had emigrated to England.

CHAPTER XIX.

To September 12th.

Sorties on Baltar, Villa da Conde, &c.—Scotch and English use the bayonet freely—England and Sweden acknowledge Donna Maria II. —Failure of Bourmont's attack on Lisbon, 5th September—Author goes to Lisbon—Donna Maria proclaimed—Applied for promised commission in Portuguese artillery—The old story, against the rules of the service; you are a foreigner—I resign and return to England —Loss of Pedroites and Miguelites to date—End of author's narrative.

Sortie on Baltar, Villa da Conde, and Melres.

The Miguelite guerillas were in some force on the Braga road and neighbouring country. So at two o'clock in the morning of the 3rd, General Stubbs marched with a column on Baltar. The enemy posted there retreated at once to Penafiel. At the same time, another force under General Zagallo went towards Villa da Conde, surprising a party of militia, which, however, made a vigorous resistance; but after losing 200 men, the rest, 168 in number, gave themselves up. These, with two waggons of military stores, were brought into Oporto. In this affair the Scotch and English distinguished themselves by the use of the bayonet.

A small column under Major Fautoura went out on the right to Melres, where the enemy had 300 of their 19th Infantry, volunteers, and guerillas. They had a fight, when the enemy withdrew, and Melres was taken by the

Pedroites, when they found sunk in the river much of the enemy's artillery.

On the 5th, England and Sweden acknowledged Donna Maria II. as Queen of Portugal. The same day the Miguelites were repulsed from before Lisbon.

Saldanha, speaking of this attack on Lisbon (Cintra letter, 1866, in "Extraits") says:—"Great activity was shown at the period he arrived from Oporto by the inhabitants of Lisbon. Bourmont soon showed himself before the capital. On both sides there were prodigies of valour." The last charge at the point of the bayonet which Saldanha directed, to drive the enemy from the height in front of the Quinta da Seabra, was at 10 p.m. They were driven from all the points occupied.

On the 7th, I was ordered to Lisbon with a party of the 1st battalion of artillery. We went in the 'George IV.' steamer, and had the steamer 'County of Pembroke,' in company, with 750 French on board. I was very unwell with pulmonary affection and camp fever. It was a treat indeed to get the sea-air.

Coasting to the south, Peniche, late the locality of Miguelite prisons, was pointed out, and we had a peep at Mafra and Cintra. Entering the river Tagus, we soon passed Belem Castle,* and at noon on the 8th anchored off Black Horse Square.

I attended the public procession on the 10th, to proclaim Donna Maria II. as Queen of Portugal in the capital of her country.

I now looked forward for the reward I had been led to

* Torre de S. Vicente de Belem—built in the river. It forms a most picturesque object from the Tagus. It is famed for the echo in the Sala Regia. Below the platform are dungeons, which were filled with political prisoners during Dom Miguel's usurpation.

expect, namely a commission as lieutenant of artillery; which having obtained, my intention was to leave Portugal.

I was instructed to memorialize the Government, stating my general and special services during the defence of Oporto. I presented myself to the commanding officer of artillery by appointment, having no doubt but that I should receive my commission. I was informed that I was only a volunteer, and that it was against the positive rules of the Portuguese service to admit foreigners into their regular army, advising me to apply for a commission in some of the foreign regiments. I adverted to certain Oporto orders of the day in which I had borne some of the brunt in the Cadet Rifle Corps, particularly on the 4th of March, showing Colonel Shaw's certificate, also Colonel Fonseca's for the glorious 25th July, when I was in command of the Rocket brigade—to the promise of a commission, to say nothing of a few scratches I had received. For all this I only got shrugs of the shoulders.

I was very much indeed out of health, and hoped that a few months' rest at home would put me to rights. I resigned, and left for England.

The following estimate of the loss of Pedroites and Miguelites, during the siege of Oporto, is given by "Um Portuense," which I think is much under the mark. The population of the city before the siege was about 70,000. Over 3000 buildings were ruined by the bombardment.

Inhabitants killed by bombardment . . .	over	1,000
Inhabitants died of cholera	„	2,000
The Pedroite army lost in killed, wounded, and prisoners, including 200 officers		3,500
The Miguelites lost in 29 attacks		23,000

Here no account is taken of Pedroite and Miguelite

troops who died of cholera and camp fever (typhus); of the inhabitants of Oporto who died of fever and famine; and the loss in both navies by war and cholera. To all this may be added the loss of both parties in the fights in the islands.

Here ends my own narrative in connection with the "War of Succession of Portugal." I now have to rely on other materials for a continuation to the end of the war, and death of Dom Pedro, 24th September, 1834. Then follows a *Resumé* of the political history of Portugal to time of publication.

CHAPTER XX.

September 12th to end of December, 1833.

The Duke of Cadaval on his loss of Lisbon—Bourmont marches on Lisbon; disposition of his army—The Queen's Government asks assistance from England; refused; exert yourselves—Fortifications of Lisbon—Bourmont's attack of 5th September fails—Donna Maria arrives in Lisbon; Saldanha presented to her as a Marshal—Bourmont's attack of 14th fails—Bourmont resigns—Captain Elliot returns to England—Who is to be Donna Maria's husband?—Ferdinand VII. of Spain dies; his brother Don Carlos in banishment in Portugal—Oubidos taken—On the 10th October Dom Pedro attacks the Miguelites outside his lines; beats them; fight at Loures—General Macdonald commands the Miguelites; they are beaten, and retreat to Santarem—Saldanha's account of the 14th—Dom Miguel lost a good chance—Queen Christina of Spain proclaims general amnesty; unfavourable for Don Carlos; his partizans rise in the Basque Provinces—Propositions that Dom Miguel marry Donna Maria; he had already played her false—Losses of Pedroites at Alcacer do Sal—Negotiations for Dom Miguel to leave Portugal; he refuses—Sir T. Stubbs' sortie south of the Douro; not favourable—Another sortie; rather surprised; he loses the brave Colonel Pacheco—Stubbs resigns the Governorship of Oporto and goes to Lisbon—Santarem besieged—Saldanha not to be shelved into the House of Peers; Dom Pedro sticks to him—Dom Pedro and his family.

An intercepted correspondence* about this time was published in Lisbon, which showed the extreme state of disunion, disorder, and confusion reigning among the influential men of the highest grade in Dom Miguel's Government. The following letter from the Duke of Cadaval, who had abandoned Lisbon, will suffice as a

* "Civil War."

specimen:—"Mr. Antonio Saraiva,*—A dead man writes to you, or one almost dead, who has been reduced to this miserable situation by thousands of occurrences. My conscience, however, consoles me. Enough. I write by the King's order to prevent the money of our loan falling into the hands of our enemies, for we were careless in leaving with the treasurer, who remained in Lisbon, several bills that had been endorsed. Almost our whole army is marching upon Lisbon. When I entreated assistance, a fourth part, with a general officer, would have been sufficient, and thus should we have avoided great evils, and I a misfortune which will probably carry me to the grave. (Signed) Your true friend, the DUKE OF CADAVAL."

The army which then had marched with Bourmont to Lisbon amounted to 17,000 infantry, 1200 cavalry, and 30 pieces of light artillery. Troops under Count D'Almar were stationed towards the north.

By the 14th August,† Bourmont had divided his army into three columns; the 1st, under Larochejaquelein, was directed on Abrantes, to pass the Tagus and occupy Salvatierra; the 2nd, under Lemos, for Santarem; the 3rd, for Leiria; in all 14,000 to 15,000 men. Other accounts state that Dom Miguel had 22,000 men.

On the 19th Dom Miguel's troops were advancing on Lisbon, when the Queen's Government asked for the armed interference of England, which was refused, accompanied with a recommendation to exert themselves.

The Miguelites had passed Coimbra before a spade had been put into the ground for raising the Lisbon fortifications, but the Emperor began at once the work of defence.

* Then in London; Dom Miguel's principal agent there.

† Napier.

The fortifications began at Alcantara, where a deep ravine separates Lisbon from Jonqueira. The ground here is strong and easily fortified to Lourical and S. Sebastian. It then becomes flat to the Pena de Franca; from here to the Tagus it is strong again. Redoubts were thrown up on all commanding heights, connected with breastworks and ditches, having some 100 pieces of artillery in position. The fleet guarded the river and coast. The force of the Queen's troops was about 8000, including 500 cavalry and as many of artillery; also about the same number of movable and fixed battalions. The force returned by the Minister of War was 29,377 and 180 guns—but this was on paper.

Saldanha had charge of the left, Terceira the right, the Emperor commanding.

On the 3rd September, the enemy appeared before Lisbon. On the 5th, Bourmont attacked, when there was severe fighting. At 2 p.m. there were attempts at a second attack, when Louis Larochejaquelein was killed, heading a detachment of cavalry. The Miguelites lost about 1000 men, the Liberals 326, of whom 38 were officers.

On the 14th September,* there was another attack, but with the same result as that of the 5th. Then Marshal Bourmont resigned the command of the army.

Their Majesties the Queen and the Emperor arrived in the Tagus on the 22nd. On the following day they landed.

Saldanha says:—"I was with the Duke of Terceira. When the Queen landed, Dom Pedro called me, then addressed the Queen in these memorable words:—'Marie,

* Saldanha's Cintra letter of 1866 in "Extraits."

I do not present to you Lieutenant-General, the Conde de Saldanha, whom you know, but the MARSHAL SALDANHA, to whom you are indebted for being here to-day.'"

Bourmont, after his failure on the 14th against Lisbon, advised Dom Miguel to withdraw his army from before the lines, assemble the Cortes and change his ministers, which he would not consent to, so Bourmont resigned, and was succeeded by General Macdonald. Bourmont returned to France with many of his officers in the 'Lord of the Isles,' in which vessel also went Captain Elliot, R.N., Dom Miguel's Admiral, or rather naval adviser. One of Elliot's followers, Mr. Luckraft (under the name of Williamson), a master in the British navy, had been sent to the Castle of S. George, for holding communication with the Miguelite prisoners in Belem Castle.

Saldanha established his head-quarters at Cartaxo about the 16th.

Now that Donna Maria, by force of arms, had become Queen of Portugal, a domestic question arose—who was to be her husband? A German prince was supposed to be the favourite; but some of the Portuguese nobles suggested Senhor Jayme, brother of the Duke of Cadaval, which would bring the Miguelite nobles in a friendly way around the throne.

Dom Miguel's agents in Paris and London were supplying him with some money, and talked loudly of equipping for him a new fleet, to be placed under the command of Captain Elliot; also that French recruits would be sent to him.

At last Ferdinand VII. of Spain died on the 24th of September, which event complicated most unfavourably Dom Miguel's position in regard to Spain; the more so as

he had given an asylum in Portugal to the banished Don Carlos and his family, who hoped that Dom Miguel would be able to assist him to gain the throne of Spain.

Sir Charles Shaw informs the author, that he left Oporto in command of the Scotch, on the 27th September, landing near Oubibos, to the north of Lisbon, where he had a fight and took the town. On the 1st October, he entered Peniche, when his troops mutinied for want of pay. He quelled the rising by judicious measures; then marched upon Torres Vedras, driving a Miguelite force from that strong position. He then marched to Azumbugeira, on the road from Lisbon to Santarem, where he remained awhile.

About the beginning of October Mendizabal left Lisbon for England in search of cash.

On the 10th October* Dom Pedro resolved to attack the Miguelite forces then besieging Lisbon. All their advanced positions were driven in rapidly, but they afterwards stood their ground; and the attack that had commenced at nine o'clock in the morning continued until night, when they took up a strong position. During the night they retired, leaving numbers of their sick and wounded, with much heavy artillery.

On the 11th, pursued by the Queen's troops, the Miguelites made a demonstration upon the heights of Loures, to protect the retreat of the cumbrous part of their army; they then withdrew in a masterly style, conducted by their new commander-in-chief, General Macdonald. In the evening, to check the pursuit of the Queen's troops, they made several attacks on both flanks; when both armies rested upon the ground they relatively occupied,

* "Civil War."

expecting a severe contest the next day to decide (perhaps) the fate of the civil war. However, during the night the Miguelites again retreated, leaving the wounded in the most complete abandonment, taking the route to Santarem.

The occupation of Santarem could not for a moment leave those who were acquainted with that position in doubt that Dom Miguel's troops intended there to take up their winter quarters. The many convents, houses, and walls, with a few field works, thrown up in the enemy's usual style of science and perseverance, would render Santarem a position impregnable to the troops opposed to it. The two armies occupied the same ground which had been held in 1811 by the Duke of Wellington and Marshal Massena.

It was now that officers, as well as rank and file, began to desert from the Miguelites to the Queen's party, the latter in larger numbers than usual.

The following is from Saldanha's Cintra letter, 1866:—

"Not wishing the Emperor should be in a besieged city, the 12th October, his birthday, I went at 8 p.m. to the palace. The Emperor was playing music with his wife and daughter. We went into another apartment, when he inquired what was the cause of my late visit. 'Nothing particular, Sire,' I replied; 'but as the 12th is your Majesty's birthday, it is not my wish that on such a day you should be besieged by the enemy.' 'I believe in your good wishes,' replied the Emperor; 'but how is it to be prevented?' 'With your Majesty's permission, I will command the attack the day after to-morrow.' 'But with what force will you attack? You know that at the review held by my brother, the day before yesterday, he had 22,000 bayonets and 3000 horse.' 'Sire, I have for the attack 8000 bayonets and 600 horse; the plan is

arranged in such a manner that, if I am properly seconded, it will be the finest piece of soldiering of modern times; if the attack fails, it will be a sortie, and will not have evil consequences.'

"The Emperor gave his consent. At once I sent my aide-de-camp, Baron de Francos, by sea to Peniche, who took orders to the Visconde de Sá and to General Nepomuceno to leave Peniche on the 9th, and come and attack the enemy on the morning of the 10th, so as to prevent their retiring by that main road, whilst our artillery would fetter their retreat by the main road to Sacavem.

"On the 10th October, at 10 a.m., I attacked the enemy's position. The surprise was complete; all, even to Dom Miguel's great dog, was in my possession. Unfortunately the troops that had left Peniche supposing, on arrival at Mont Achique, that the attack had not been successful, had returned.

"The battle of Loures was fought on the 11th. I had got off my horse on a ridge in advance, where I could see the whole line of battle. The Emperor arrived, accompanied by his chamberlain, the Visconde D'Almeida; they dismounted. Some minutes afterwards, the servant of one of my aide-de-camps was killed; three orderlies and some horses were wounded. D'Almeida then said:—'Sire, it is Marshal Saldanha who is in command here. Your Majesty is exposing your life without any object.' The Emperor, placed himself behind me, and laying hold of my two arms, laughing, observed, 'I am making a rampart of the Marshal's body.' Then, letting me go, he said, 'Poor Marie, should a shot take both of us!'"*

* According to Napier, Dom Miguel threw away a good chance here. "Before dark the enemy had a full opportunity of seeing the positions we occupied, and instead of retreating by Alhandra, they ought to have

On the 16th October, Candido Xavier, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, died.

On the 26th, the Pedroites attempted to extend themselves. They took possession of Alcacer do Sal on the left bank of the Tagus, which was rather a tender place.

There was considerable recruiting going on in England for Dom Pedro, funds for which were not wanting.

November 1*st*.—Queen Christina of Spain proclaimed a general amnesty. This was unfavourable to Don Carlos, whose partisans, however, were springing up in the Basque Provinces in great numbers. Propositions were set afloat by the Legitimists that Donna Maria should be induced to marry her uncle, Dom Miguel; but he had already played her false.

The Miguelite general Lemos* crossed the Tagus with a force at Santarem, and advanced upon Alcacer do Sal on the 3rd, taking many prisoners, amongst whom were fifteen officers, and it was feared that he shot many of them in cold blood, long after the action. The Queen's troops lost 436, of whom 20 were officers. They behaved ill; they took to flight, alarmed by a charge of cavalry.

From Mr. Williams's notes:—

I was on board the 'Donna Maria,' Captain F. Henry, when she was ordered from Lisbon to Sines to protect that town from a threatened attack of the Miguelites. It had a castle of ancient date unsuited for its defence. We threw up earthworks, landed some quarter-deck guns and

made a daring movement to their left on Sacavem, got into the Lisbon road, which they might have done in the night, gained a march on the Queen's troops, forced the lines, which would have only been defended by the fixed battalions, and secured the capital (!) They would have captured the Queen, the court, stores, arsenals, &c. (!) However, Dom Miguel did not dare this (or any other fellow but Charlie Napier) and thus lost his crown, as all princes ought to do who have not talent, courage, and enterprise to put all to the hazard of a die to save it."

* "Civil War."

manned them. Boarding pikes were lengthened and red and white flags affixed. This done, a few horses were collected and a selection made among our marines for the best riders, when a fair show of lancers, or veritable "horse-marines," appeared—so often spoken of in jest, but probably never seen before. Our lancers scoured the country, but met with no particular molestation. An officer named Slack being at some distance from Sines on foot was attacked, and when nearly overpowered was rescued by one of the "horse-marines."

The enemy, some 3000 strong, had withdrawn to Alcacer do Sal, and threatened Setubal, to which port we sailed for its protection. It was arranged that 1000 Portuguese Volunteers and 80 cavalry were to join our seamen and marines, in all about 1200 men, and march upon Alcacer do Sal. This was done in good soldierly style, but we found the enemy had just left the place and crossed the river to the left bank, taking all the boats with them. Our marines and blue-jackets took shelter that night in a deserted convent full of fleas.

The blue-jackets, after a week, were recalled to their ship, the marines, under Major Burt, and the Portuguese Volunteers left in possession of the town. Then it was that the enemy, composed of 150 cavalry and 3000 men, chiefly guerillas, came against the place, which is on a conical hill with a ruined Moorish castle. In this tower Burt placed the volunteers whilst he led forth his marines. The Miguelite cavalry made a desperate charge, which was received by the marines in square, firing only when the horses were upon their bayonets, which hurled them back in disorder. Thrice did they gallantly return to the charge, only to recoil from the deadly fire, which strewed the ground with their men and horses. Seeing the last repulse so complete, our marines opened out. Their blood was up, and, with a ringing cheer, they charged bayonets into the midst of the guerillas, which made them waver and fall back. At this the volunteers, left in the castle, supposing that the marines were retreating, as they were mixed up so completely with the enemy, threw away their arms and knapsacks, and fled like a flock of sheep without having been called upon to fire a shot. The remnant of the Miguelite cavalry now pursued these flying volunteers, cutting them down right and left as they hopelessly endeavoured to escape.

The marines had to fall back, fighting step by step through the streets, closely followed by the enemy till they reached the river bank, but there was no boat to cross them over. When thus pressed by overwhelming numbers they were driven into the river. Those who could swim threw their muskets into the water and escaped, whilst the remainder were either shot down or delivered themselves up as prisoners of war. Thus

we lost about 60 men and 4 or 5 officers in killed and prisoners, ending a fearful fight so disastrous to our arms.

Setubal now being threatened by a strong force of the enemy, the 'Donna Maria' received on board many families, who were conveyed to Lisbon.

Napier, referring to this defeat of the Queen's troops, says:—

"I believe Lieutenant Fitzpatrick was drowned. Mr. Ebsworth was taken prisoner. Our loss was 54 marines and 4 commanding officers killed, drowned, or taken prisoners. As for the rest of the troops, God knows where they are."

Subsequently he learned that the Lisbon Volunteers lost over 800 men. "The greater part were delivered up by General Lemos to the guerillas and put to death; and he had the hardihood to announce this transaction in a public despatch." (Lemos committed suicide in Paris some three years afterwards, being in great want and misery.)

Towards the end of November Spain offered, in conjunction with England, to mediate between Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel. Dom Pedro wished his brother to leave the country, but this he would not agree to. Dom Miguel would have had no objection to marry Donna Maria. This, however, could not be thought of; so Colonel Hare, who acted for Dom Pedro in this negotiation, and Baron Ranefort, who represented Dom Miguel, had no alternative but to bring matters abruptly to a close. The Marquis of Olhao (a Miguelite) left Lisbon for Santarem, to use his influence with Dom Miguel to abdicate, but this suggestion was not listened to.

Sir T. Stubbs, after the affair at Villa de Conde, moved with a force to the south side of the Douro, and, having advanced personally to reconnoitre as far as Grijo, was

suddenly attacked by the Miguelites, and lost in his retreat twenty-one men, two of whom were officers.

Some irregular Miguelite troops made an inroad near to Oporto, on the Guimarães road; when at 8 a.m. on the 1st December, Sir T. Stubbs sallied forth and took position on the Cobello, whilst his cavalry and other troops went with a will at the enemy's advanced posts, which at least kept the enemy off. Sir T. Stubbs approaching too near them, to ascertain their force, received a volley which wounded two of his staff; one was Captain Gillet, and the other was the celebrated Colonel Pacheco, so often distinguished in the command of the 10th Regiment. Pacheco was wounded so severely that he died two days afterwards. Never was an officer more regretted in Oporto. The day of his funeral was one of universal mourning.*

Sir T. Stubbs shortly afterwards left Oporto for Lisbon.

With the exception of some guerilla warfare in the province of Algarve, nothing of note took place between the two armies, who remained looking at each other during the rest of the winter, proving that if the Miguelites could not take Oporto, the Queen's troops could not take Santarem.

Shaw was placed at the advanced posts before Santarem Nov. 14th. On the 7th December, he was ordered to quit his post instantly, through a false report to the Emperor. On the 9th, a handsome letter was sent to him from Saldanha, saying he would explain all satisfactorily to the Emperor. On the 14th, Shaw was ordered to discharge the men who had two years before embarked with him in

* There is a square and a street in Oporto named after "Colonel Pacheco."

London. These men now counted twenty-seven out of three hundred!

At p. 81 of the "Extraits" (1834) concerning Saldanha, is the following:—

"Parliament assembled immediately after the re-establishment of the Constitutional throne. Saldanha was the chief of Dom Pedro's staff, and had been elected a deputy. The evening before the meeting of the Chambers, Saldanha went to Dom Pedro, declaring that he did not approve of a great number of measures taken by the Government, and should oppose them in the Chamber, which determination placed him under the painful necessity of resigning his post as Chief-of-the-Staff. Dom Pedro asked if it was against himself or the Ministry he would be in opposition, continuing, 'The opposition made to the Government has nothing to do with my person; you will continue as the Chief of my Staff.' Saldanha replied, 'On condition that your Majesty will make known to-day or to-morrow to the Ministers what has passed between us.' His name now appeared in the official journal as a peer. Still he went to the Chamber of Deputies, and said, 'I have received the nomination as a peer, but I cannot resign the mandate of the people to accept a favour of the Crown;' and that he had returned his nomination to the Government; but that he would accept that honour when his term of deputy had expired."

Badcock says for this period:—

"I met the Duke of Braganza walking in the street; he first perceived me, and came up to shake hands. In the evening I was introduced to the Emperor and the Queen, at the palace of Necessidades (an appellation at that time certainly well suited to it). The Royal party were in a room but scantily furnished. There was a

grand pianoforte, a few chairs, and a small table, at which the Queen and the Empress were sitting at one side, with the governess and a lady opposite. Dom Pedro stood by the side, and an aide-de-camp stood by the door. The Empress was handsome, and appeared an agreeable person; the Queen said but little, and seemed constrained by the presence of her father. She was much grown, and appeared of an amiable disposition, and I had no doubt she would turn out a fine young woman."

CHAPTER XXI.

1834.

JANUARY TO JUNE.

The Queen's army much recruited—Flotilla before Santarem—Miguelites refuse to attack Setubal—Taking of Leiria by Saldanha—Bacon's Lancers—*February*, Dom Pedro ill at Cartaxo—Saldanha gains the the battle of Pernes—Terms offered to Dom Miguel he could not accept—Saldanha gains the battle of Almoster—Dom Pedro still ill—Dom Miguel lost a good chance (?)—*March*, Napier's successful campaign in the north—Torres and Terceira victorious in the north-east—Terceira accepts Rodil's services—*April*, Offers again made to Dom Miguel; refused—Quadruple alliance—*May*, the last battle at Aceiceira, 16th May, and defeat of Miguelites by Terceira—Dom Miguel flies to Evora; convention signed there on the 26th; he leaves Portugal—Don Carlos goes to England—Sir C. Shaw's dislike to diplomacy.

At the commencement of 1834, the Queen's army had been recruited by many foreigners and volunteers, and there were some 50,000 Liberals under arms.*

* From Mr. Williams's notes:—A flotilla was organized in January, consisting of a floating battery mounting ten guns, with numerous armed boats. We proceeded up the Tagus to near Santarem, the object being to prevent supplies reaching that place by water; also, to oppose reinforcements crossing the river. Our boats were moored in line at short intervals. Several deserted villages were in our proximity, and in proportion as our little store of provisions became exhausted, so did these places become more and more interesting to us on the score of pillage, including pigeons, pigs, and cooking utensils. At times these positions were under fire of the Miguelite outposts. Having been about a couple of months in our boats, we were one night aroused by "What boat is that?" answer—"Donna Maria's." "Then you will assemble with your other boats, and return to Lisbon to be paid off." This was joyful news. The old ship 'Donna Maria' was soon stripped of her shattered rigging. All the men's traps, as well as a substantial subscription, were given to our worthy Portuguese steward, and then each went his own way.

On January 3rd, the Emperor's head-quarters being at Cartaxo, he reviewed his troops. Commencing at Valle, and so passing along the heights, he inspected the different corps in their alarm posts, their left extending to Azambujeira. The British were on the left of the line, the weakest part. The cavalry was at Cartaxo.

Some of Dom Miguel's troops occupied Alcacer do Sal, and about the 10th threatened Setubal, but did not like to attack it.

On the 15th January,* Saldanha, Xavier, Schwalbach, and Bacon had some severe fighting at Leiria, north of Santarem, and it was reported that the Miguelite loss was 1500 in killed, wounded, and prisoners; also that, on the 24th, Bacon's and Pessoa's Cavalry had a fight with the Chaves Cavalry, which latter suffered much.

February 1st.—Dom Pedro's frequent appearance at Cartaxo, without anything decisive being performed before Santarem, gave rise to the following :—

Dom Pedro va par abaixo
Es regolar hir a Cartaxo ;
Dom Pedro il va y vém,
Mais no chega a Santarem.

TRANSLATION.

Dom Pedro goes down there—
He goes as usual to Cartaxo.
Dom Pedro goes and comes,
But does not get to Santarem.

Saldanha, on the 2nd, surprised at Torres Novas the brave Miguelite Chaves Cavalry.

During the whole civil war not a man had deserted

* Napier.

from the 6th or Chaves Cavalry, and they had always fought bravely. They were attacked most gallantly by Bacon with his lancers, and by Lieutenant-Colonel Pessoa with some Portuguese Cavalry. The superior weight of powerful troops, and the energy of a winning cause, conquered these brave men. Few arrived at the Miguelite head-quarters to lament their misfortune, not their disgrace.

The Emperor * was subject to a pulmonary complaint, and was taken ill at Cartaxo on the 3rd and confined to his bed, with spitting of blood. The situation of the army here was thought to be critical, as a great number of the best troops were with Saldanha at Pernes. Dom Pedro and the Empress left for Lisbon next day.

The Duke of Terceira resigned his command on the 5th. Sir T. Stubbs and staff arrived at Cartaxo to succeed him.

Dom Pedro came to Cartaxo on the 12th. The next day he was very ill in bed, so much so that fears were entertained for his life. He was rather better on the 14th, and left for Lisbon. Lord Howard de Walden, the new English ambassador, arrived in Lisbon. He was surprised that the war was not over, as Santarem had been so often reported in the newspapers as taken. M. Mortier, the French ambassador, arrived on the 15th. The Emperor was better, but confined to the palace.

Saldanha now appeared to carry all before him. He won the fight at Pernes, with the trifling loss of ten killed and wounded—four were officers—taking numerous prisoners and several stands of colours.

Lord Howard de Walden † had a meeting with

* Badcock.

† Sir J. E. Alexander, "War in Portugal," p. 130.

General Lemos on the 18th February, proposing that Dom Miguel should leave Portugal on a pension of 300,000 francs, amnesty to all his followers, and to retain their half-pay and rank from 1828. If not agreed to, 10,000 Spaniards were to march at once into Portugal; and if even Dom Pedro's army were annihilated, England and France were pledged never to allow Dom Miguel to be King of Portugal (!) Lemos said he could not mention such hard terms to his royal master. So both sides prepared for war.

Battle of Almoster, the 18th February.—The Miguelites had allowed the advantageous time for an attack to pass by, and suffered Saldanha's division again to concentrate in its old positions; still they resolved to advance on him and turn his left.

Their right column advanced upon Villa Nova, where they found a French battalion, which they compelled to retire, and close to their right upon the British. The Miguelites having gained the left flank of Saldanha's position, instead of pushing across the bridge immediately, whilst there was nothing to oppose, sat there four hours doing nothing; whilst Saldanha moved troops to the left, and brought up all he could from Cartaxo. At four o'clock the Miguelites marched forward to the attack. One of their battalions arrived on the summit of the height across the valley, but was met and defeated with considerable loss. Saldanha then crossed the valley, and after hard fighting reached, in his turn, the opposite height, when a severe engagement and heavy slaughter ensued. The Miguelite cavalry behaved with the greatest bravery, and Colonel Bacon, with a few followers, was at one time surrounded and nearly taken prisoner, his cavalry being routed. Night put an end to the contest, and left matters

in an undecided state. Saldanha had regained the height; but the Miguelites covered their retreat through Villa Nova, losing about 230 in prisoners and 3 standards. But the war did not seem likely soon to be ended by operations in the field. Saldanha lost at Almoster 374, of whom 30 were officers. The enemy lost in all about 700.

Sir J. E. Alexander observes that Saldanha distinguished himself on this occasion by his good generalship; he said, —"Let them cross the bridge; we'll beat them on our own ground." He was *brave comme son epée*. The Miguelites retired that night into Santarem, which was fearfully visited by typhus.

Lord Howard de Walden said:—"Saldanha is a true lion, both in military and civil courage."*

I paid a visit to the Duke of Saldanha, who was in London in February, 1869. He gave me the following in reference to the battle of Almoster:—That he had been long cogitating about giving the Miguelites a drubbing on his own ground. He had rather a pick of officers and men such as he could depend on. At 8 a.m. he had his breakfast at Cartaxo in the house of Senhor Damacão, whom he told to join him in the advance afterwards. The fight had begun when Damacão arrived, who did not admire the ping, pinging, which had been going on for some time. Saldanha said—"You have a quinta at Almoster, go there and await me." Saldanha now removed his troops a little to the rear, which looked like a retreat. At this the enemy crossed the bridge into Pedroite ground, which was what he wanted. It was not then understood, even by Saldanha's officers. When the enemy had crossed, Saldanha told his staff to get behind the quinta, that he was

* Saldanha's only son subsequently took the title of Conde de Almoster, He died in 1846.

going to head his battalions, and one aide-de-camp would be enough. At it they went, Saldanha being at the head of his party, and, to use his own words, "It was very hard work, but I had got them over the bridge on my own ground, and gave them a severe beating."

Saldanha's aide-de-camp was killed by a shot through the head. Three or four French general officers of the enemy were killed and wounded.

After the battle of Almoster, Dom Pedro went to Cartaxo. He looked very ill, and was troubled with spitting of blood. He could not sleep at night, and was obliged to keep his bed a day or two.

Torres, the defender of the Serra, who had superseded Sir T. Stubbs as governor of Oporto, had kept up a correspondence with influential men in the Minho and Tras os Montes, preparing that portion of the country to come forward for Donna Maria II.

NAPIER'S TEN DAYS' CAMPAIGN IN THE NORTH.

This was a smart soldiering affair, and rather on his own account. He was evidently fond of army strategy and tactics. He delighted in scaling forts, and other suchlike operations.

On the 23rd March Napier communicated to Dom Pedro: "I have taken the castle and town of Caminha, and am marching on Vianna." He followed up his success, and threatened the governor of Valença, that if he did not surrender in two hours he would bring up his "battery train." He had not a gun. The "train" was but a name, the name he bore, and that won Valença. On the 3rd April he received the keys of a fortress so well garrisoned and bristling with artillery, that it ought to have

required 7000 to 8000 men, with heavy artillery, to have invested it, at least *pro formâ*.

From Mr. Williams's notes :—

Whilst we in the flotilla were guarding the river, Admiral Napier went with a squadron and troops to the north in March. We heard the following of the Admiral's campaign :—

The Spanish governor of Vigo invited Napier and his principal officers to a dinner. The main object at this dinner was to pass the wine freely, and when the governor was in good humour, to ask his permission to land a few men at Vigo; at his consent, certain officers were to retire and proceed on board, the men comprising the expedition being in the boats awaiting orders. They were to land, and march in all haste to the River Minho, the frontier line. All this followed without loss of time. Napier put himself at their head, making direct for the ferry leading over the river Minho to Caminha. He so timed his march as to arrive on the opposite bank at nightfall, when all the boats were quietly taken possession of at the ferry, and a number of men sent over to surprise and capture the picket, if possible without firing a shot.

All these movements were easily accomplished, as no enemy was expected to cross over from Spain. The countersign was extorted by threats. All the force was now brought over on Portuguese ground, a strong guard was sent to the entrance of this walled town; the correct countersign being given, the gates were opened, and the guard, taken by surprise, were secured without the firing of a shot.

Napier then entered with his whole force at the double, making for the main-guard, opposite to which was the governor's house. The governor, hearing an unusual tramping of men coming up the street, rushed out on his balcony followed by his aide-de-camp, and seeing the red coats of the marines, called out "Miguelistas! as armas!"—"Miguelites! to arms!' A volley from the marines killed the governor and his aide, the only two lives lost in the capture of this strongly-fortified town. The main-guard was instantly reached, and their arms seized in their racks. The place was taken.

An English cutter yacht, the 'Scorpion,' laden with small arms for Dom Miguel or Don Carlos, and commanded by Lieutenant Whitaker, R.N. which had arrived the day before from England, became a prize.

Town after town, some fortified, surrendered to Napier "by letter" as he termed it. With a flag of truce he sent his letters to the several governors, demanding surrender within twenty-four hours, telling them his was only the advance guard. These authorities knew of the retreat of

the Miguelites from before Oporto and from Lisbon on Santarem; Napier had taken their fleet and Terceira their capital, and now, taken aback by an unlooked-for *supposed* army, this gave them the *coup de grâce*.

Napier had conquered the north coast; Terceira and Torres were successfully campaigning in the north-east; Baron de Sá was south in the Algarves; and Saldanha confronting Dom Miguel before Santarem.

Dom Pedro left Lisbon for Cartaxo on the 9th April, but returned immediately, both in bad health and bad spirits; he had Saldanha pressing him on one hand to dismiss the ministers, and the ministers pressing to be allowed to keep their posts.*

On the 25th March, Torres marched out of Oporto with the greater portion of the garrison. He sent a column to Braga, on the approach of which the "bitter" Governor Jozé Pinheiro fled with his battalion of monks, two pieces of artillery, and some horse, to Carvalho d'Este; the Liberals, however, soon had a favourable encounter with them.

* Referring to this period, Napier observes:—"Another chance lost. Dom Miguel might have embarked the greater part of the army, leaving a garrison in Santarem, and, taking advantage of the first fresh fair wind, have run down the Tagus" (Yes, if he had had Napier as his admiral and lots of fresh troops), "and landed at Black Horse Square, taking care to occupy the roads leading from Lisbon, seized the Queen, sent for the Patriarch, and married her forthwith, making the Emperor and Empress witnesses, declared a general amnesty, fired lots of salutes during the day, illuminated Lisbon for three nights, and either kept the Constitution or thrown it overboard, as was most suitable to their disposition and the will of the people. (?)

"Had Dom Miguel, or those about him, possessed courage enough to have executed such a plan, he would have deserved both Crown and Queen, and obtained a reputation that would have insured him forgiveness for all his former sins (?) This is no after-thought; it was my opinion at the time, and I often gave it as a reason for occupying the south of the Tagus."

Torres now measured lances with General Joze Cardozo's advanced posts at Santo Thyrso, driving them in. On the 2nd April, he found Cardozo posted on the heights of Lixa, where he had a splendid fight, driving his enemy before him. Cardozo left of dead on the field 112, many wounded, and two field-pieces. Torres lost 100 men, including 12 officers.

The Liberals came up again with Cardozo at the Bridge of Amarante, he having crossed the Tamega. The enemy was established in the strong position of Cobello, which commanded the bridge. Here Torres received orders on the 6th to hand over his command to Terceira, who had disembarked on the 3rd at Oporto, with a battalion of the 12th Caçadores. On the 11th, at daybreak, a part of Terceira's force passed the Tamega at Paul under Colonel Queiroz; another force crossed the bridge, supported by their artillery, charged the enemy and dislodged them; the Liberals gained the heights of Mesãofrio and the battle was theirs; they only lost three killed and a few wounded, whilst the enemy lost twenty dead on the field, some wounded, 100 prisoners, and many came over; they also found here two pieces of artillery and much ammunition.

Terceira followed his enemy by the road to Regoa, but they had fled to Villa Real; he, however, overtook them by Trancoso on the 30th at Castro d'Ayre, and at the Ponte de Pedrinho fought and beat them; many were the killed and wounded, and 120 prisoners; the rest fled by the Vizeu road to Coimbra, which Terceira entered the 8th of May, on which day Figueira was taken by the Pedroites.

On the 16th of April, Torres had attacked the Miguelites four leagues from the Douro, driving them into Coimbra. He then returned to Oporto.

At the end of March, Terceira being at Lamego, he received a letter from the Spanish general Rodil, then at Guarda, offering to co-operate with him. He asked Rodil to occupy Almeida. Terceira being at Vizeu on the 2nd May, again communicated with Rodil, who had advanced to Gouvea. On the 4th he had an interview with him at Mangoalde, and agreed that a Spanish division should march by the road of Ponte de Murcella, and the Portuguese by the road to Coimbra. Arriving there on the 8th, the enemy had abandoned it the previous night. Terceira had another interview with Rodil at Senhor da Serra, at which it was agreed that, while he marched on Thomar, Rodil should proceed by the right bank of the Tagus, cross the Serra da Estrella above Castel Branco, so as to menace Abrantes, and be ready to cross the Tagus if necessary.

Napier had again some soldiering, but when he got to Thomar, found that Terceira had gained the battle of Asseiceira.

About the 4th April, the British Embassy, backed up by that of France, made a movement up to Cartaxo, and offered advantageous terms to the followers of Dom Miguel. They, however, still refused, although reduced to the most trying situation, and being nearly hemmed in at Santarem by the Pedroites.* Spain in their rear had declared against them. They were forgotten by those European powers who had been friendly to them. Their fleet and capital gone, to what could they look? Still

* See "Plan of lines before Santarem," by Captain C. Van Zeller, showing positions of both armies; also views of Santarem and Bridge of Asseca, Farm of the Ribeira, Picket at Mata Quatro, Head-quarters at Cartaxo, Santarem from Mata Quatro, Santa Maria– published by Dean and Munday.

SANTAREM
Don Miguel's Head Qrs
Asseceira 5 leagues N.of Santarem
Terceira gains Last Battle 16th May 1834
Retreat of Don Miguel & Don Carlos to Evora 17th May 1834
River Tagus
Don Carlos Head Qrs
Almerim
Secoria
Zambugeiro
Mata Quinto
Houses at Paul
Brushwood
Brushwood
Village of Penta
Asseca Bridge
Wood
Almoster
Malaia
Valley
Farm of Ribeira
Brushwood
Sand & Brushwood
Olives & Pine Trees
Vineyards
Pine Trees
Sand & Wood
Villa Nova
Plain
Pine Trees
Fields
Sand
Plain
Plain
Brushwood
Fields
POSITIONS of the LIBERATING ARMY before SANTAREM 1834.
Reduced from Capt.n Vauzellor's large Plan.
One English Mile
18th of April 1834
Ste Maria
Brushwood
Houses of Ouru
Olive Groves
Chaveens
Plain
Olive Groves & Vineyards
Olive Groves & Vineyards
Plain
Wood
Bridge of Ste Anna
Olive Groves & Vineyards
Cartaxo
Don Pedro's Head Qrs
Reference.
Artillery.
Camps
Constitutional Troops.
Don Miguel's Troops.
Telegraphs.
Stanford's Geograph.l Estab.t Charing Cross

the troops clung to their chief, though suffering every deprivation—without shoes, clothing, badly paid, and perishing from cholera and other diseases. At length a finishing stroke was given to Dom Miguel and Absolutism by the Quadruple Alliance between England, France, Spain, and Portugal, signed by Palmerston, Talleyrand, Miraflores, and Moraes Sarmento.

On the 18th, Badcock, who took leave of Dom Pedro at the Palace of Necessidades, states that he was ill and did not see company. He, however, received him in his dressing-room, and shook hands at parting. He remarks, "Of the character of Dom Pedro I shall only say that I always found him friendly, kind-hearted, and true to his word."

THE LAST BATTLE: THAT OF ACEICEIRA, 16TH MAY.

DEFEAT OF DOM MIGUEL.

The Duke of Terceira,* in combined movements with Saldanha and General Rodil, met the enemy, alone opposed to them with the troops he had led through such fatiguing marches, on the heights of Aceiceira, five leagues north of Santarem, or rather $1\frac{1}{2}$ leagues from Thomar. The Miguelites were commanded by General Guedez, and amounted to about 6000 men, consisting of the retreating troops of the northern division and of strong reinforcements from Santarem. The Duke divided his force into three columns, commanded by General Nepomuceno, Colonel Queiroz, and Colonel Vasconcellos, the cavalry by Colonel Fonseca—all old campaigners, full of fire and fight.

The attack was impetuous, the defence was worthy of desperate men struggling on the last plank of a losing cause. A moment of anxiety pervaded the Queen's troops,

* "Civil War," p. 266.

but the Duke ordered a charge of cavalry at a critical moment, and confusion dispersed the brave Miguelite band, to fight no more battles for their master. Three colonels, several lieutenant-colonels and majors were amongst 64 officers taken prisoners. Eight pieces of light artillery fell into the Duke's hands. The Queen's troops lost, for the last time, 284, of whom 22 were officers.*

Terceira† had been joined on the 14th by Colonel Vasconcellos, and in the evening he occupied Thomar, the enemy having retired on his approach.

On the 15th he communicated to Saldanha all that he knew of the enemy's position and intentions, which it was difficult to divine. In the course of the day a letter was intercepted from General Guedez, who was encamped in the neighbourhood of Aceiceira. This letter ordered the artillery that was coming from Santarem to halt at Gollegão, which led the Duke to suppose it was his intention to retire from his position. This the Duke determined to prevent, if possible, and either bring him to action the following day, if he remained there, or follow him should he retire.

On the morning of the 16th he marched from Thomar by the road to Atalaya, and soon discovered his enemy on the heights of Aceiceira about a league and a-half from Thomar. Colonel Queiroz advanced on the right, Nepomuceno on the centre, and Vasconcellos on the left. The

* "General Guedez was defeated at Aceiceira. Timid councils prevailed with Dom Miguel. The evacuation of Santarem was decided on, and effected on the night between the 16th and 17th, and the troops marched upon Evora. The treason of General Urbano had surrendered (?) to the enemy the finest regiments of Dom Miguel's (Chaves) cavalry. The Pedroites entered Santarem on the morning of the 17th."—Baron de los Valles' "Career of Don Carlos." 1835. A Carlist view of the matter.

† Napier.

enemy, favoured by strong ground and by artillery, made a vigorous resistance, and sustained for a long time the position they occupied, making repeated charges with their cavalry at every favourable opportunity. They were repulsed by the right and centre columns, closely formed, with great gallantry, proving by their firmness that they were not to be broken or prevented from gaining the heights, which were finally carried and the enemy totally defeated and obliged to fly by the roads of Punhete, Torres, Gollegão, and the adjacent mountains and valleys, followed up by the Queen's troops and cavalry, who by a decided charge put the enemy's squadrons to flight, killed and wounded an immense number of men, and took 1400 prisoners, including 74 officers, 4 standards, and all the artillery and ammunition, consisting of 8 pieces.

On the 17th Terceira was at Gollegão, Napier occupied Torres Novos, and Dom Pedro went at once to Santarem.

The Miguelites evacuated Santarem on the 17th, retiring across the Tagus to the Alemtejo. Saldanha immediately occupied Santarem. The Duke of Terceira and Saldanha, those rivals in a glorious career, now both crossed the Tagus, at different points, with instructions to follow up the enemy, giving amnesty to those who would lay down their arms, even to Dom Miguel, on condition that he quitted the Peninsula.

The Miguelites, thus surrounded, and their retreat to Spain cut off by the newly-adopted government and institutions of that country, halted in Evora Monte, and, to the number of 16,000 men, laid down their standards, and the arms with which they had so faithfully, so enthusiastically, and so recklessly defended them. They sullenly accepted the terms granted by Dom Pedro by the convention of Evora, the 26th May—clemency and pardon for all, with

liberty to return to their homes, Dom Miguel only to quit the Peninsula for ever. Don Carlos and family managed to be sent to England in a British man-of-war.

Dom Miguel* had united at Evora 10,000 men, and the Algarves division of 3000 was ordered to join him. General Louis Bourmont had arrived with 1500 men from Alcacer do Sal. It was now necessary to take a decision. To remain in the plains of Evora and fight a battle was useless; to retreat to Elvas impossible, without first beating Terceira. Louis Bourmont proposed to unite 8000 of the best troops and attack one division of the Queen's army; but Dom Miguel had neither officers nor men fit for such a daring measure. They were worn-out and fatigued with war, and thought they had already done enough for their master; and in a council of war they did not hesitate to say so.

Napier thinks that Dom Miguel should have given the command of his army to Bourmont or D'Almar, taking in Don Carlos and his followers; then have marched on Madrid, and rallied the Carlists; and it was more than probable Don Carlos would have been King of Spain, and Miguel might have recovered his crown from thence. (?)

The author may observe that Napier does not bear in mind that Rodil, with a considerable force, was far within the frontier, and Sarsfield with another not far off. Rodil, had he caught Don Carlos, would have in all probability made short work of him and his family; Sarsfield might have sent him prisoner to Madrid. Suppose Dom Miguel and Don Carlos had crossed the frontier into Spain with 15,000 men; they would have had Dom Pedro's victorious army at once on their rear, as well as

* Napier.

Rodil and Sarsfield's powerful forces on the flanks. Dom Miguel's army was in no way prepared to risk such a step; had it been attempted, both princes would have been caught in a trap. They must have thought so themselves, or they would have listened to the beseeching solicitations of some of their influential followers.

Sir C. Shaw gives me the following :—

"General Wyld was riding with me when an aide-de-camp of Dom Miguel's came to the Duke of Terceira whilst we were on the march to Estremoz (a few miles N.E. of Evora). This was to give information that Saldanha, with Lord Howard de Walden, had entered Evora with Dom Miguel and Don Carlos. Wyld galloped off to Terceira; then I saw him ride off with the Miguelite aide. I hurried to Terceira, saying, 'For God's sake have nothing to do with diplomacy, or all will go wrong.' 'What can I do?' he replied. 'My troops are tired, and if the enemy leaves Saldanha they can thrash me.' I had a long argument, always saying, 'Push on, and prevent their retreat into Spain.' He went into the next room for a while, and on coming out said, 'How strong are you?' I said, 'About 500.' 'Are your men tired?' 'Very.' 'Suppose I order a march immediately, and have no halt till we come to Estremoz, how many scarlet coats could you bring into that town?' I said, '150 with myself, and the rest in twelve hours will come up.' One hundred marched immediately.

"A terrible march! I brought in about 200, and then the retreat was cut off; but on our arrival we found Saldanha and Lord Howard de Walden had concluded the treaty of Evora; thus allowing Don Carlos not to be made a prisoner, which was the cause of the war shortly afterwards in Spain."

CHAPTER XXII.

From July to September 24th.

DEATH OF DOM PEDRO.

Dom Pedro takes Donna Maria to Oporto; his address to the Portonians; his bad health; returns to Lisbon; his address to the nation; gives up the Regency, but reinstated; he becomes worse—the Queen declared of age—Death of Dom Pedro 24th September—Various observations about Dom Pedro—His epitaph by Colonel Owen—Monuments to Dom Pedro—Casualties during the war—Navy—Miguelite or Absoluto and Pedroite or Liberal nobility—Portuguese orders and medals.

In July, 1834, Dom Pedro took Donna Maria to Oporto presenting to the Portonians the Queen they had so nobly fought for.

He issued the following address:—

"Although not entirely recovered from illness, principally caused by so much work and fatigue you were the witnesses of in Oporto, I did not wish longer to delay my coming to this most noble and loyal city, in company with your Queen, to rejoice with you on the termination of the civil war, complying with the promise I made you on the 26th July last year, when the conqueror of Algiers (Marshal Bourmont) met with in Portugal his first defeat.

"Here you have now with you your Queen, who sincerely thanks you for so many sacrifices you have made for her, and honours you for the heroism you have shown, which may be equalled but never surpassed.

"I congratulate myself to be again in the theatre of my glory, in the midst of my Oporto friends, to whom I owe the great help rendered to me during the memorable defence, and the name I acquired, which I shall honourably leave as an inheritance to my children.

"I have indeed great happiness in beholding you in the enjoyment of prosperity, of peace, and of liberty, and in assuring you, as well as all good Portuguese, that, as long as I live, I will defend by every means within my power the Queen and the Constitutional Charter of the monarchy.

"I would have wished to have remained longer with you than ten days, but as the period is so near for the opening of the Cortes, it is necessary that I should be in the capital some few days previously. I count on the next year, if the state of my health permits, to come with the Queen, and by land, to visit the northern provinces. On that occasion I shall have the pleasure of passing a few days in this heroic city.

"Dom Pedro, Duke of Bragança.

"*Porto*, 27*th July*, 1834."

Dom Pedro fulfilled his promise in coming to Oporto with the Queen, for whom the Portuenses had made so many sacrifices. The Empress, who came with them, was a witness of the enthusiasm and joy of the people at seeing within their walls the noble companions of their labours and sufferings—Saldanha, Terceira, and other brave defenders during the siege of the city. Dom Pedro left the Portonians, "magoadas com saudades"—full of painful and fond regrets.

Dom Pedro's pallid countenance betrayed his inward decay, and many an aching heart foreboded the early loss of his guardian arm over the tranquillity of Portugal, as he

waved his handkerchief to thousands who cheered him crossing the bar on his return; when, with evident marks of emotion he said to his fair companions—"Did I deceive you? are they not my faithful Portonians?" "Adieu Oporto, I shall never see thee more!"

He turned aside and shed tears.

He returned to Lisbon to prepare his interesting address to the assembled Cortes, giving them an account of his motives for invading Portugal; then laid down his authority as Regent, and a General in the Queen's army. His Minister of War, Freire, gave a satisfactory report of the military operations of the liberating army.

Extracts from Dom Pedro's Speech to the Extraordinary Cortes of the Portuguese Nation :—*

"Worthy Peers of the kingdom and Deputies of the Portuguese nation! The day I have so anxiously desired has at length arrived, a day of glory and happiness. After having extinguished the fury of the civil war and restored the throne of the Queen, I see assembled around me the representatives of the nation, nobly eager to promote, by the observance of the charter, the stability of the throne, the consolidation of the constitutional system, and the prosperity and happiness of this generous nation. On so happy a day, I must not present to you the sad and gloomy picture of six years of public and private misfortunes; but I cannot avoid alluding in general terms to the principal events. You know that as soon as I was called to the throne of Portugal, on the death of my father, it was my first thought to fulfil the important mission by laying down a secure foundation for public happiness, and endeavouring to restore our ancient greatness by means of institutions suited to the wants of the people, and conformable to the progressive state of civilisation. I abdicated the throne of Portugal in favour of the Queen, my daughter. The constitutional charter I granted on the 29th April, 1826. All the Princes who then constituted my Imperial and Royal family gave positive and manifest testimonies of their approbation. All foreign nations recognised the legitimacy of my succession and abdication, and of the measures which I had adopted for the

* The whole of the speech is in Napier's "Account of the War," vol. ii. p. 316.

benefit of the Portuguese. In short, all sincere persons conceived the hope that with this gift there would be obtained, besides its principal effects, the cessation of discord which had been excited and artfully promoted. Meanwhile, a rebellious and fanatical faction, directed by secret and powerful forces, and perhaps relying on some foreign co-operation, deserted the country, declared itself the enemy of liberal institutions and of the happiness of its fellow-citizens, and undertook the base task of supporting the empire of abuses, of destroying the charter, of restoring the infamous and abominable regimen of absolute power, and even of calling into question my incontestable rights to the Portuguese throne. This faction was repressed; but the declared enemies of liberty did not suspend their dark machinations, but armed with fanaticism, imposture, atrocious calumny, and all the base and perfidious means which desperation and rage suggested to them, they saw in the end the failure of the system of ferocity which for six years oppressed the Portuguese, and gave to the world examples such as never were seen in the most calamitous times of this or other monarchies. It was a Prince of my own family, an ungrateful and degenerate brother, who encouraged and promoted the efforts of the rebels in order to seat himself upon a throne erected upon treason, disloyalty, and perjury. The ties by which the Prince bound himself to observe the Constitutional Charter, and to acknowledge and obey the legitimate Sovereign, by his oath and promises made and repeated at Vienna, Paris, London, and Lisbon—by the solemn acceptance of the hand of the Queen, who was destined to be his consort—by the confidence which I placed in him in appointing him Regent of the kingdom and my lieutenant; —all this, I say, was despised by him with the most scandalous immorality; and, convoking a vain and illegal phantom of the national representation, which he wished to see annihilated, he caused it to declare him King. In this manner the work of iniquity was completed, and by these steps the usurper ascended to the occupation of a throne which had never been stained by such black and scandalous perfidy. Thousands of illustrious victims were then sacrificed, either on the scaffold, in the horrors of prison, or in exile, without any crime but their loyalty, without any trial but the will of his government. In short, there was no crime that was not committed, no error that was not defended, no virtue that was not insulted, there was no security or protection except for the wicked, who distinguished themselves by their ferocity and sanguinary zeal. My heart was deeply wounded and afflicted at the deplorable situation of my fellow-citizens and subjects, whose felicity has been, and ever will be, the constant object of my most anxious care. Events certainly inspired my return, which, added to the inflexible purpose that I had formed never to depart from my word, and the sacredness of the oaths with which I had bound myself to my subjects,

brought me to Europe after I had abdicated the Imperial throne of Brazil. I saw, on the other hand, and experienced myself, the great and redoubled efforts which opposed so arduous an enterprise, whether on the part of the numerous sectaries of despotism, or of the political interests of cabinets, or lastly, of the powerful force of an association which called itself Conservative, and which was organised and spread over all Europe. In the midst of all this it was easy for me to perceive that the eyes of all, and the sole hope of the loyal Portuguese, were fixed upon me; and, convinced that PROVIDENCE called me to the direction of so difficult, though glorious, an enterprise, I undertook to place myself at the head of the noble party of loyalty. Everything, however, was wanting, and everything was created anew. I regret that I cannot mention individually all who suffered, all that was done, all that was attempted. I regret that I cannot mention the names of all the noble Portuguese who, with indefatigable zeal, and with sincere and efficacious diligence, employed themselves in supporting so important an undertaking. I assumed the Regency in the name of the Queen, because the enterprise required a centre always present. I enrolled myself the first soldier of the brave and valiant national army, and I had the satisfaction to see that the friends of liberty in other countries, convinced that the constitutional cause in Portugal was common to them, and in every respect conformable to truly just and liberal principles, came to join us. In the Manifesto of 2nd February, 1832, I published my intentions, my principles, and the plan of my future proceedings, offering to all peace, goodwill, oblivion of the past, and even pardon, if they needed it, on the sole condition of their acknowledging their duty, being faithful to their oaths, and obeying the legitimate authority of the Queen. With these intentions and preparations I left the shores of France and went to the Azores, where a part of the loyal nation was concentrated, and the Regency established. There was organized the little Portuguese army, but great, strong, and invincible by its valour. At the head of 7500 men I landed on the shores of Portugal on the 8th July, 1832. The terror which the enemy felt opened a way for this handful of men, and on the 9th, without the loss of a single man, we entered the city of Oporto, whose inhabitants displayed from that time the most ardent enthusiasm in the cause of the Queen and the Constitutional Charter and a series of prodigies of valour, loyalty, constancy, and patriotic resignation which may some day be repeated, but can never be surpassed. I must not omit to mention, at least in general terms, the rare examples of civil and military virtue which I observed in the army and inhabitants, the valour with which they worsted 80,000 men, abounding in resources and every moment reinforced by all the means which fanaticism and despotism could suggest—the almost incredible firmness and constancy with

which they braved death in its most frightful forms, without showing, even in the most anxious moments, any signs of weakness and discouragement—in short, prodigies of the most exalted patriotism, in the midst of the most dangerous crisis; patriotism and love of liberty, and the efforts of civilization, combating servitude, barbarism, and tyranny, and continually gaining signal victories over those monsters. A detachment of this little army conquered Algarve, and proceeded to deliver the capital of the kingdom, which it entered on the 24th July, 1833, assisted by the cordial co-operation of its illustrious inhabitants. The enemy's squadron was gloriously combated and taken off Cape St. Vincent. The signal victory which we obtained in the lines of Oporto, on the 25th of the same month, over the numerous forces of the enemy, enabled me to repair to the capital, where I arrived on the 28th. On the 10th of October I attacked the 16,000 men who besieged the city with 8,300, of whom scarcely 2,500 were experienced soldiers. The enemy was thrown back upon Santarem, and the arms of loyalty obliged him to remain there till I judged the time was come to undertake decisive operations in the north of the kingdom. In a few days all the provinces were delivered. Oppressed and tortured citizens issued from horrible dungeons; the inquiring and humane army soon showed what were its sentiments, and what a great difference there was between legitimacy and usurpation. On the 27th May this year (1834) the enemy at length laid down their arms. Having been lately beaten in the obstinate battle of Acciceira, he abandoned the strong position of Santarem, and retreated to Evora, still accompanied by a great force. Here the reign of usurpation expired, after two years of combats, sustained and gained against a vast inequality of force. The Government of the Queen was again everywhere acknowledged, and the oaths of fidelity to her authority and the Charter renewed. The nation began to enjoy peace and tranquillity. We feel particular satisfaction in being able to announce that during the struggle and since its termination the Government of the Queen has been formally recognised by England, France, Spain, Sweden, Belgium, and Denmark. The Court of Rome will certainly not be last in taking so just and wholesome a resolution, since we boast of not being the last to respect and venerate in its head the common father of the faithful and the centre of Catholic unity, to whom we are indissolubly united by the sacred bonds of religion. We have concluded with England, France, and Spain the treaty of Quadruple Alliance, signed the 22nd April this year Its principal object was to give new securities for the happy and prompt termination of the struggle in which we were engaged, and thus to co-operate in the tranquillity and general good of Europe. Many and important measures have been taken for the better government of the kingdom. The army and the civil departments have been re-organised. Free ports have

been established at Lisbon and Oporto. All the associations of the religious orders have been suppressed. The creditors of the State have been paid. The paper currency is going to be extinguished. Almost all our vast and rich transmarine dominions voluntarily declared in favour of the charter and the authority of the Queen. Two principal objects now call the attention of the Cortes: viz., 1st, whether the Regency ought or ought not to be continued during the Queen's minority; 2nd, to take proper steps that her Majesty may marry some foreign prince. Besides these objects, many others claim your attention. The laws regulating the liberty of the press, the responsibility of ministers, the inviolability of the residence of the citizen, the law which is to regulate the employment of the property of the citizen for the benefit of the public, and the indemnity which is previously to be given him, the organisation of public instruction, the pious and charitable establishments, the laws for the protection and promotion of manufactures, commerce, arts, and of agriculture, which is the queen of them all—all that public necessity requires, and all that may contribute to the prosperity of this honourable nation, and to restore its ancient glory and greatness, must deserve the zeal and labour of the Cortes.

Gentlemen Deputies—The Minister of Finance will present to you the state of our public funds.

Worthy Peers of the Kingdom and Deputies of the Portuguese nation —I most cordially rejoice with you and the whole nation at seeing our country restored and the throne of the Queen established, and to behold you united around it, ready to employ your talents and your zeal to promote its splendour and to raise the Portuguese to that station which belongs to them in the number of civilized nations. For myself, I reserve only the glory of having placed myself at the head of so brave and honoured a people, and of the national army, and of having co-operated with them to maintain the rights of a daughter whom I love and esteem so highly, and those of a nation which has rendered itself so illustrious by its heroism in war, and by its virtues in peace. The extraordinary session is opened.

Palace of the Necessidades, August 5th.

On the 15th August the Emperor met both houses in the Chamber of Deputies, and after having given an account of what he had done he resigned the Regency and retired.

The Emperor was now in very bad health; his troubles,

anxieties, and fatigues for the last two years had been too much even for his robust frame, and he was now evidently declining. He had taken up his residence at Queluz, where he hoped quiet might restore his health. His medical adviser, a Brazilian, the only one he employed, recommended him to try the baths of Caldas, which he did for a few days and returned worse.

The Chambers decided that he should preserve the Regency during the minority of the Queen. They assisted on the 29th of August at the Ajuda Palace, when the Emperor took the oaths. He now suffered so much from a difficulty of breathing that it was with evident pain and inconvenience he got through the ceremony, and after remaining a short time at the Ajuda, during which he got rapidly worse, he retired to Queluz.

The Chamber of Peers consisted of only sixteen members. On the 1st September Dom Pedro created twenty-four new peers, the greater part of whom supported the Ministry.

On the 17th September he became so much worse that he sent a message to the Cortes resigning the Regency, and the Queen was declared of age. Her first act was to confer on the Emperor the Grand Cross of the Tower and Sword for his noble services.

The complaint of the Emperor, which was originally inflammation of the lungs, had settled into a decided consumption, added to which dropsy had made its appearance; and notwithstanding the violent and torturing remedies that were applied, the disease baffled all the skill of his medical attendants.

On the 24th September, 1834, he breathed his last in the arms of his consort, who had never left him a moment. He was within a few days of his 35th year, having been

born the 12th October, 1798. He was the 27th monarch of Portugal, and known as Pedro IV., "the Liberator." He was perfectly sensible of his approaching end, and bore his sufferings with Christian fortitude. Shortly before he died he said:—"Bring me Colonel Pimentel and a soldier of my regiment" (the 5th Caçadores). "Brave men," said he, "receive this last adieu—carry it to the army that I love."

His loss to Portugal was great; the services he had performed were of a nature that entitled him to the gratitude of Portugal and of all Liberal nations.

Dom Pedro was above the middle stature (about six feet) of a strong robust habit. He had a fine forehead, fierce eye, and aquiline nose, a sallow complexion, dark when younger, and marked a little with small pox. His face was not prepossessing; his hair was black, and he wore a beard in Oporto. He had the appearance of a savage-looking man, but that was not his character. On the contrary, he had no cruelty in his disposition; he was brave, ardent, and temperate. He prided himself on being a liberal prince, and a friend to free institutions; nevertheless, like most princes, and indeed like most men, he liked to have his own way.

He was fond of military renown, but when Saldanha was at the head of his staff, and had acquired his confidence, he left the command of the army almost entirely to him.

He was suspected of aiming at the crown of Portugal, but it is also believed that his thoughts were more turned to the possibility of his being called to the throne of Spain, in the event of anything happening to Isabella.

He was a most active man, rose early, and looked at everything himself, and, knowing the procrastinating

character of the Portuguese, he was right. Had it not been for his activity the expedition would never have sailed from the Western Islands for Oporto.

When his mind was made up, he was firm and determined, and even obstinate. Nothing but the last extremity would have induced him to have given up the contest. He was more easily elated by success than cast down by adversity. He was frank and sincere, and hated both intriguing and lying.

He did not easily forgive his enemies, but he was not cruel to them, nor was he very kind to his friends.

To sum up his character, his good qualities were his own, his bad owing to want of education; and no man was more sensible of that defect than himself.

He was regretted by the great majority of the nation, and the Miguelites even lost a friend in him.

To the faithful Portonians* Dom Pedro requested that his heart should be sent, in memory of the glory he had earned within its walls; this precious relic was deposited in the church of our Lady of Lapa, to be transferred to that bulwark of valour and patriotism the convent of Serra do Pilar,† where a fitting monument was to be erected to the beloved memory of so great a man.

"Now‡ he is dead, his value is known. I do believe him to have been a just man, but often deceived by those around him. That he was a brave man and a good officer, there is not the least doubt; and as a husband, he was kind, attentive, and most affectionate; by his acts he showed that he well understood the duty of a father.

* "Um Portuense."

† 1869. No monument has been erected up to this date at the Serra.

‡ Shaw's "Memoirs."

For the sake of Portugal I regret his death; and I shall ever respect his memory. Dom Pedro was most deeply and sincerely regretted by the soldiers, who, with all their apparent thoughtlessness, are by no means bad judges of character; and at this day (1837) every well-wisher of Portugal must lament his death."

Epitaph.*

"Pedro's ambition was to gain the throne of his ancestors for his daughter, a name and glory for himself. Did he succeed in his wishes? Speak! his followers, his friends, his enemies! Donna Maria is the Queen of Portugal. Pedro successfully defended Oporto to the last extremity—thus truly answer his followers and friends. And even his enemies must confess that, if, as they have averred, 'there was no difference between the two brothers;' if 'cruelty, cowardice, and tyranny likewise lurked in Pedro's mind,' then Pedro gained the greatest of all victories, the brightest of all glories—he conquered himself! For he freed his people; fought for their liberties; and, in the hour of triumph, he was clement to his fallen foes!

"Reader! he is gone to his last account, where kings and beggars, as thyself, must plead. Be not unjust to Pedro's name and glory, as a prince, a soldier, and a man!"

The chief mourners at Dom Pedro's funeral were Saldanha, Terceira, and Napier.

Monuments to Dom Pedro.—The Praça Nova of Oporto is now called after Dom Pedro. In October, 1866, the King Luiz and his Queen went to the inauguration of the equestrian bronze statue of Dom Pedro (the work

* By the author of the "Civil War in Portugal," Colonel Owen, who knew him well.

of A. C. Calmels of Paris). He is mounted on a horse of the Alter breed, and wears the historical costume in which he disembarked at Mindello. The cost was £15,000. £18,000 has been voted for a monument to his memory to be placed in the Praça do Rocio at Lisbon. Ninety models were sent in. An Italian sculptor obtained the first prize, a Portuguese the second.

Some memorial might have been placed, say in Oporto, in memory of the English, Scotch, Irish, French, Belgian, Spanish, Italian, and of other nationalities, who fell during the siege 1832-3, also of those who subsequently fell up to the period of the last battle, that of Aceiceira, 16th May, 1834.

Then there were those who perished in Sartorius's actions of 10th August and 11th October, and in Napier's grand fight, 5th July, 1834, when he took the Miguelite fleet.

Surely a Cairn could be easily constructed from the waste masses in the granite quarries at Oporto, and on a bronze or marble tablet might be engraved—

"In Memory
of the
British, French, and other Volunteers,
who fell in the
'Campanhas da Liberdade,'
1832-4."

The names of officers and distinguished non-commissioned officers might be given. Gratitude costs but little!

CASUALTIES, DURING THE CONTEST, IN THE LIBERAL ARMY.*

	Killed.	Wounded.	Prisoners.	Died in hospital.
Officers . . .	104	513	37	83
Non-com. officers	91	351	45	139
Drummers . .	15	46	6	40
Rank and file .	1010	3678	1288	2792
	1220	4588	1376	3054

Prisoners	1376
Wounded	4588
Killed	1220
Deserters during the conflict	7291
	17,529

The Pedroite army landed . . . 8,219 men
The Miguelite army then . . . 84,560
The Pedroites at the close . . . 40,947
The Miguelites 66,000
880 Miguelites joined the Pedroites.
1172 Pedroites deserted.

All calculations of the loss of the peasantry and Galicians on both sides must be useless; thousands were killed working in the trenches, and fell unknown, unasked for. Many more must have perished in the guerilla warfare throughout the provinces, and in the gaols, hospitals, and foreign countries. To these must be added the prisoners murdered in cold blood, after years of confinement, by the Miguelites in the gaols of Estremoz and Villa Real. The parish priests alone can give an idea of the general loss, by a return of those missing at the time. The loss of life among the Miguelite nobility, in consequence of disease, while Santarem was occupied, was most melancholy. The sufferings of the Pedroite nobility had been very great

* "Civil War."

from persecution and banishment; it was only now the Visconde St. Gil de Perre returned from cruel sufferings; his brother was murdered in Estremoz, after four years of confinement.

At the close of the war the Queen's navy was composed of the following vessels, under the command of Admiral Napier:—

'Dom João,' 74; 'St. Vincent,' 74: 'Duke of Braganza,' 50; 'Dom Pedro,' 50; 'Rainha,' 42; 'Donna Maria,' 42; 'Fifth of July,' 40; 'Eliza,' 26; 'Donna Isabel,' 24; 'Cacella,' 20; 'Portuense,' 20; 'Audax,' 16; 'Providenza,' 16; 'Villa-Flor, 18; 'Third of July,' 8; 'Isabella,' 7; 'Faro,' 5; 'Galatea,' 20, on the stocks, and half-a-dozen store-ships.

£130,000 had been allotted to Napier's fleet, as the value of the Miguelite ships they had captured on the 5th July, 1833, and they were to have three years' pay at the end of the war.

We must not omit to state that Sartorius* organised the fleet for Napier; and that this noble-hearted man destroyed a bond of £10,000 when the Pedroites were most distressed for money.

In February, 1834,† of the nobles, those with Dom Pedro are easily enumerated: they were, the Marquises of Larradia (Lavradio?), Frontiera, Valença, Ponte de Lima, Subserra, and Loulé; the Dukes (created by Dom Pedro in Oporto in 1833) were Terceira and Palmella; the Condes Saldanha, Alva, Fialho, Taipa, Sabugal, Lumiares, Pariti, Sampayo, and Rio Mayor. One Bishop.

The adherents of Dom Miguel were:—

Dukes—Cadaval, Lafoes.

* Was created Baron de Piedade in 1836.

† Badcock.

Marquises—Louriçal, Torres Novas, Pombal, Olhao, Penalva, Vagos, Sabugoza, Viana, Bellas, Vallada, Borba, Chaves, Tancos, D. Jaen, An Lavradio, Niza, Alvito.

Counts—S. Miguel, Vaxo, Belmonte, José Belmonte, Almada, Souré, Redondo, S. Vicente, Viana, Atalaya, Cea, Porto Santo, Carvalhas, Mesquetella, S. Lourenzo, Figueira, Castro Marim, Barbacena, Murça, Contra, Valladares, Peniche, Alhandra, Ega, Rio-Mayor, Feira, Povoa, Povolide, Annadia, Redinha, Ponte Ponbeiro, Rezende, Arcos, Louzaga, Galveas, Alvito, Lapa, Diego Louzada, Penafiel, Rio Pardo, An Lampayo, Camarido.

Viscounts—D'Asseca, Bahia, João Bahia, Jurumenha, João Jurumenha, Santarem, Azurara, Maja, Bandeira, Manique, Estremos, Souzel, Villa Nova de Rainha, Souto del Rey, Torre Bella, Beira, Veiros, Varzia, Montelegre, Villa Garcia, Azanha, Santa Martha, S. Gil de Perre.

Church Dignitaries—The Cardinal Patriarch, Archbishop of Lacedemonia.

Bishops—Coimbra, Castel Branco, Vizieu, Bugio, Deão, Leyria, Pinhal, Algarve, Madeira, Angra, Beja.

Principals who rank as Grandees—Decano, Silva, Menezes, Lencastre, Camara, Coste Real, Furtado.

Prior Grande, Prior d'Aviz, Prior Palmella, Prior Christo.

Thus there were of nobles adhering to the Queen a total of 19.

And those espousing the cause of Dom Miguel were 107; of these afterwards some went over to the Queen, and some became extinct.

Titles conferred by Her Majesty the Queen of Portugal on those who on the field of honour exposed their lives to

restore a usurped throne to her, and liberty to the Portuguese:*

DUKE OF TERCEIRA.

Antonio José de Sousa Manoel e Menezes Severino de Noronha, Count of Villa-Flor; Marquis in 1827; Duke of Terceira in 1832, for services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

DUKE OF PALMELLA.

Pedro de Sousa Holstein, Marquis; Duke of Palmella in 1833, for diplomatic services in England, as Regent in the Islands, and in the siege of Oporto.

MARQUIS DO FICALHO.

Antonio de Mello; Marquis in 1833, for services in the siege of Oporto.

MARQUIS DE SALDANHA.

João Carlos Saldanha Oliveira Daun, Count Saldanha; Marquis in 1834, for services during the siege of Oporto (subsequently created Duke).

MARQUIS BEMPOSTA.

João Guilherme Hyde de Neuville, Count (St. Leger); Marquis in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

MARQUIS DE SANTA IRIA.

Luiz Roque de Sousa Coutinho Monte, Conde d'Alva; Marquis in 1833, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

COUNT CAPE ST. VINCENT.

Carlos Ponza† (Napier), Viscount of Cape St. Vincent in 1833; Count in 1834, for naval services on the coast of Portugal and in the siege of Oporto, as Admiral of the Liberal squadron.

COUNT DAS ANTAS.

Francisco Xavier da Silva Pereira, Baron Antas in 1835; Viscount in 1836; Count in 1839, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

COUNT BOMFIM.

José Luiz Travassos Valdez; Baron Bomfim in 1835; Count in 1839, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

* Um Portuense.

† Napier assumed the name of "Ponza" when he took command of Dom Pedro's fleet.

COUNT DE MELLO.

Luiz Francisco Soares de Mello da Silva Brayner Sousa Tavares de Moura; Count in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

COUNT VILLA NOVA DE GAYA.

Thomas Guilherme Stubbs, (Sir Thomas), Baron in 1833; Count in 1835, for services rendered in the siege of Oporto.

VISCOUNT DE SA DA BANDEIRA.

Bernardo de Sá Nogueira; Baron in 1833; Viscount in 1834, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto, when he lost his right arm.

VISCOUNT DA SERRA DO PILAR.

José Antonio da Silva Torres; Baron do Pico do Celeiro in 1833; Viscount in 1834, for his great services in the siege of Oporto and his splendid defence of the Serra do Pilar Convent.

VISCOUNT DE BOVEDA.

Joaquim de Sousa Quevedo Pizarro; Viscount in 1833, for military services, conducting in 1828 an emigrant division from Plymouth to the Islands and siege of Oporto.

VISCOUNT OF SAMODAES.

Francisco de Paula d'Azeredo Teixeira; Viscount in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE CACELLA.

Antonio Pedro de Brito; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE CAMPANHA.

Balthasar d'Almeida Pimentel; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE FONTE NOVA.

Bento da França Pinto d'Oliveira; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE FARO.

Deocleciano Leão de Brito Cabreira; Baron in 1833, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE ARGAMOSSA.

Francisco da Gama Lobo Botelho; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE RUIVOZ.

Francisco Saraiva da Costa Refojos; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE VILLAR TORPIM.

Francisco José Pereira; Baron in 1837, for military services in the siege of Oporto.

BARON D'ALCOBACA.

Henrique da Silva da Fonseca Cerveira Leite; Baron in 1834, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DA PIEDADE.

Jorge Sartorius; Baron in 1836, for naval services at Belle Isle, the Azores, and on the coast of Portugal, as Admiral of the Liberal squadron.

BARON DE S. COSME.

João Nepomuceno de Macedo; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE SETUBAL.

João Schwalbach; Baron in 1835, for his great military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DO MONTE PEDRAL.

José Baptista da Silva Lopes; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE LORDELLO.*

José da Fonseca Gouvêa; Baron in 1836, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE LEIRIA.

José de Vasconcellos Bandeira de Lemos; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

* Sir Charles Shaw merited this title for his long and sturdy defence of Lordello. Fonseca well deserved to be ennobled, say as Conde de Foz, the castle of which he so bravely defended.

BARON DO CASAL.

José de Barros e Abreu Sousa Alvim; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DE VALLONGO.

Luiz Pinto de Mendonça Arraes; Baron in 1835, for military services in the siege of Oporto.

BARON DO CANDAL.

Manoel José Mendes; Baron in 1839, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON D'ALMARGEM.

Marianno Barroso de Sousa Garcez Palha; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DO CABO DA PRAIA.

Manoel Joaquim de Menezes; Baron in 1835, for great services in the Islands, routing the army of the usurper at the Villa da Praia in 1839, and in the siege of Oporto.

BARON CACILHAS.

Romão José Soares; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

BARON DO VALLE.

Victorino José d'Almeida Serrão; Baron in 1835, for military services in the Islands and siege of Oporto.

To the Knights of the Ancient and most Noble Order of the Tower and Sword, of Valour, Loyalty, and Merit, decorated for the "Campanha da Liberdade."

Brave Heroes! Your names are engraved upon the honourable decoration, which as a reward for your constancy and valour on the battle-field has been awarded you; and which, hanging from your valorous breasts, will ever cause the enemies of the Queen and of liberty to fly before you. All good Portuguese, in memory of your actions, will repeat with exultation and pride that earnest and memorable stanza of Camoens, sung to the illustrious warriors of the 15th century—

E julgaries qual é mais excellente
Se ser Rei do mundo ou de tal gente?

or

Say, which will be the most notable,
To be the King of the world, or of such warriors?

PORTUGUESE ORDERS.

1. *S. Bento d'Aviz*, had its origin in the union of some knights before the battle of Campo d'Ourique, 1139; their appellation of Avis arose from their choosing a situation for their new seat at a place where two large birds (*aves*) were observed close together under a tree.

2. *Order of Christ.*—Succeeded that of the Templars.

3. *Torre e Espada.*—Already described at p. 36.

4. *Santiago de Espada.*—Introduced from Spain by Affonso Henriquez, first King of Portugal.

5. *N. S. da Conceicao da Villa Viçosa.*—Instituted by João VI. in 1818.

6. *Order of Santiago.*—Principally for literary merit.

The extinct orders, besides those of the Templars and Knights of Malta, were the *Ala* (Wing) *de St. Miguel*, instituted by Affonso Henriquez, in 1171, to commemorate his victory over the Moors at Santarem; that of *Da Frecha*, by Dom Sebastian, in 1576; that of *Madra Silva*, and that of *Dos Namorados*, in the reign of João I.

There were about 40 religious orders, having some 400 monasteries.

Of war medals, a bronze one struck about 1863, of "Donna Maria and Dom Pedro," for the Campanhas da Liberdade 1826 to 1834, is much prized; blue riband, with white steak in centre.

There is the gold medal for 'Merito Militar" for the same war.

Dom Miguel instituted the *Order of Fidelity;* not recognised in Portuga

RESUMÉ

OF THE

POLITICAL HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE REIGN OF DONNA MARIA II.

Liberalism *v.* Absolutism—The Queen shot at in Paris—Exclusion of Dom Miguel from the throne—Marriage of the Queen to Prince Augustus of Leuchtenberg; his early death—Government tardy in paying its foreign soldiers—The Queen's second husband, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg—Dom Pedro's Charter not pleasing to the Outs; they under Sá de Bandeira force the Queen to re-establish the Constitution of 1820 ; Palmella and Saldanha (Chartists) dismissed; Freire assassinated—Chartists defeated—Dom Miguel leaves Rome for London, hoping to be called to Portugal—History of the Church in Portugal—The Queen cedes part of her revenue—Dom Fernando not popular—Remechido, Dom Miguel's commander-in-chief—Saldanha and Terceira at head of the Chartists—Bandeira goes against them—Das Antas ; his services in Spain ; assists Bandeira ; "mysterious transactions ;" Chartists routed—Das Antas's enmity to England—Constitution of 1838 sworn to ; Dom Fernando covered with abuse ; Bandeira nearly killed ; Costa Cabral civil governor of Lisbon—History of Remechido—Dom Miguel comes again to London proposing to get into Portugal *viâ* the Basque Provinces—Slave question with England—Bomfim, Minister of War, wants a standing army of 27,000—Troops shoot their colonel—Lord Palmerston's little bill ; a member of the Cortes protests against any British claims!—Navigation of the Douro; Saldanha prevents war with Spain, and serious difficulties with England—Dom Miguel again pretends to the throne—Costa Cabral's movements; his arbitrary acts; insurrections against him; escapes to Cadiz ; Das Antas a rebel; forms "Supreme Junta" in Oporto ;

Saldanha defeats Bomfim at Torres Vedras—Secret treaty of 1822 of the Unholy Alliance—British cruisers take the "Supreme Junta's" fleet—Bandeira submits to the Queen—Dom Miguel leaves Rome secretly for London; was not recalled to Portugal—1848 Annus Mirabilis, Louis Napoleon President of the French Republic—Statistics; Foreign and Home debt nineteen and a half millions sterling! —Costa Cabral Minister—Death of the King of Sardinia at Oporto —Saldanha's military Regenerative movement, and against Cabral; Saldanha's success; again Minister—There had been fourteen revolutions in fifteen years!—The Queen nearly burnt to death—*Coup d'état* and *coup de canons* in Paris—Saldanha protects French emigrés—Death of Donna Maria, 1853.

1834.

I HAVE given at pages 140 to 142 a very brief account of Portuguese history up to the accession of Maria I. in 1777. The principal portion of this work is devoted to details of the Regency that followed and the reign of John VI.; the usurpation of Dom Miguel and the "War of Succession from 1826 to 1834;" Liberalism *versus* Absolutism, in which the former, after much bloodshed, triumphed. The concluding portion will contain a summary of Portuguese matters to time of publication.

DONNA MARIA II., the Constitutional Queen of Portugal, was born at Rio Janeiro the 4th of April, 1819. Her father, Dom Pedro, Emperor of Brazil, on the death of John VI., became King of Portugal, when he abdicated the throne of that kingdom in favour of his daughter with the concurrence of the nation, of all parties connected with his family, and sent a Liberal constitution to Portugal in 1826. Details have already been given of Dom Miguel's acceptance of the hand of Donna Maria, then his refusal, his violent usurpation of the throne and burning of the Constitution, Dom Pedro's patriotic invasion of Portugal in 1832, his defeat of Dom Miguel and the expatriation of the latter in March, 1834, in virtue of the Convention of

Evora. On the 20th June Dom Miguel, being at Genoa, protested against the Evora Convention, so as to keep open his claim to the throne; he then went to Rome, where he was soon joined by about a hundred followers; shortly afterwards he had to accept a small income from the Pope.

Dom Pedro became so ill in September, 1834, that he gave up the Regency, when Donna Maria commenced to reign in person. Dom Pedro died the 24th September.

The Queen had already passed through some anxieties; but the most serious, a personal one, up to this period occurred on the 25th November, 1831. Being in her bedroom at Malmaison, Paris, a bullet was fired through the window; it passed through the bed-curtains, it broke a looking-glass, then entered a wall. The Absoluto party said that Dom Pedro was the author of this act!

The War of Succession being over, and Dom Miguel's Absoluto hopes dashed to pieces, a Portuguese Tory party, which would at times accept the help of Miguelites, ultra-Liberals, or any other disturbers, whenever it had the opportunity, commenced tampering with the Constitution, so sincerely upheld by those who had fought and placed the Queen on the throne; this led to a continuous and unconstitutional struggle for power and the shedding of much blood.

The Queen on her accession retained most of the former ministers, reinforced by some of the more moderate Constitutionalists, including Palmella.

1835.

A bill was brought in and passed by only *one* dissentient voice in the Deputies, to exclude Dom Miguel and his descendants from the throne; proclaiming that if he were found in Portugal, or its dominions, he might be killed by

any one, the same to be rewarded by a sum equal to £2500; a similar amount if handed over alive.

Prince Augustus of Leuchtenberg, son of Eugene Beauharnais, and brother of Dom Pedro's second wife, became the husband of the Queen the 26th January; he died the 28th May following.

In June Silva-Carvalho presented his budget from 1st July, 1834, to 30th June, amounting to £3,100,000, but showing a deficit of £1,280,000; it was, however, expected that a sum would be received in part payment of the debt due by Brazil, which would reduce the deficit to £720,000.*

The Government was backward in settling with its foreign soldiers; on which the "Annual Register" says, "Such are the rewards which await adventurers or zealots who hire themselves out to be the mercenary supporters of foreign revolutionary governments."†

* It may be as well to bear in mind the amount of deficit of only £720,000, and that after the lengthened struggle of the War of Succession; to notice as this *Resumé* progresses the extraordinary annual increase of deficit and debt until in 1868-9 the expenditure was 4½ millions, the income 3½, and the National Debt over £47 millions!

† Sir Charles Shaw.—Before the fighting commenced in front of Santarem (1833-4), Sir Charles (then Colonel) Shaw had been wounded ten times in the service of Donna Maria II. Sir Charles writes me, that all the foreign officers, soldiers, and sailors were paid, except himself. "I got, after much trouble, my men paid, and then I was punished by getting but little for myself." In his petition to the House of Commons, July, 1867:—"Through Tory influence his half-pay as an officer in the British army was stopped, although drawn for in the Estimates; other officers got theirs. He has claims on the Portuguese Governments since 1834-5, for about £2500, which had not been paid in 1869; although the King, Dom Luiz, when in Frankfort (where Sir Charles resides), in December, 1865, said to his chamberlain, the Marquis Ficalho, on receiving an account of his claims, 'See that all be attended to; see all carried through Parliament.' Ficalho replied, 'Never fear, Shaw; I am a member of Parliament, and if there be any discussion, you will see what a speech I will make about you.'"

1836.

The Queen's second husband was Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Cobourg-Gotha, nephew of the King of the Belgians. He arrived in Lisbon the 8th of April, the marriage took place the following day. The Royal marriage stopped for a while financial discussions in particular. The Custom-house of Elvas and Campo-Mayor yielded annually only £380, that of Faro £100.

The Queen, or her surroundings, tried at once to have her husband named commander-in-chief, which met with much opposition from those who saw the impolicy of the proceeding; in the end he was named, but it led to considerable agitation, and more than the suspicion that the Crown was acting irregularly.

In April there were bread riots in Oporto. The introduction of foreign furniture was obnoxious; it was stopped and burnt.

Dom Pedro's charter did not suit the *Outs*, so they sought to re-establish the Constitution of 1820 ('21 and '22), forced the Queen to concur in their views, and on the 10th of August, the Conde de Lumiares, Sá da Bandeira, Silva Pasos, and others upheld the movement. In September, the Queen was almost a captive to them, now called "Septembrists;" Palmella and Saldanha (Chartists) were dismissed. The Viseonde Sá da Bandeira (Bernardo de Sá Nogueira) was now in power. Freire, who had been minister under Terceira, was assassinated; Palmella emigrated to England; Saldanha went into retirement at Cintra; Terceira, who had taken refuge on board an English man-of-war, landed.

In October, the Chartists under Baron de Leiria (J. de Vasconcellos Bandeira e Lemos) were defeated by the Septembrists, under the Conde das Antas (F. Xavier da

Silva Pereira), which led to the Convention of Cintra; when alterations were to be made in the Charter of 1826 and the Constitution of 1820.

At page 161 there is a list of fourteen different parties in Oporto at one period of the siege. Now that Donna Maria was on the throne, there were the following great parties: —1. The Crown, trying to strengthen itself regally under Dom Pedro's charter. 2. Pure Chartists. 3. The Government for the time being, generally doing its best to get the army with it. 4. The Miguelite, which could at times get the disaffected of some of the other parties.

In consequence of these political disturbances, Miguelite partizans showed themselves pretty publicly, upon the principle that division among the Liberals was the opportunity of the Absolutos. Dom Miguel left Rome for London, stopping at the house of his agent, A. R. Saraiva, No. 21, Nottingham Street, Marylebone, so as to be ready to go to Portugal, probably *viâ* Spain; but his friends were not strong enough.

A Miguelite, or a plundering, expedition broke out at Mozambique. The British man-of-war 'Leveret,' stopped it and protected the authorities.

The claims of the British who had assisted in the war remained in great measure unsettled; some of them returned to England, whilst others joined Evans in Spain against the Carlists.

Dom Pedro had made grand and sweeping reforms in the Church,* even to the abolition of tithes; now Sá de Bandeira proposed to make the priests stipendiaries, to be

* Before the meeting of the Cortes in 1834, Dom Pedro's Government had ordered "the total extinction of all convents, monasteries, colleges, and religious houses of monks," and incorporated their estates with the national domains.

paid from a special tax; thus he would have the Church party in some measure with him.

SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN PORTUGAL.*

The Church became rich and politically powerful, by persuading kings, nobles, and the wealthy to give most freely, particularly for the safety of their souls; in a word, the Church had control over the nation. Celibacy was finally established in 1095.† The Church persuaded kings to obtain papal investiture. Sancho I., who died 1211, in his will, called the Pope, "Lord of his body and his soul." The Bishop of Lisbon, in 1271, ordered that one-third of the property of those who died without the assistance of the clergy should go to the Church. Tithes were instituted. The Church now threatened the Crown, and Sancho II. was deposed in 1245 by Papal bull. However, under Pedro I., about 1361, it was decreed that no Papal bull should have power in Portugal without the consent of the Crown.

There was much confusion in the Lusitanian Church; some of the bishops were suffragans of the Spanish Archbishops of Compostella, Galicia, and Leon, and of the Portuguese Archbishop of Braga. About 1536, under the Cardinal Regent, the Church again became powerful; the *un*-holy Inquisition had been introduced in 1536, for the extirpation of Albigenses, Jews, Moors, and all who differed from Rome.

The schism between Clement VII. and Urban VI. caused the separation of the Church of Portugal from that of Castile, the former embracing the party of Urban VI. The Jesuits were established in Portugal about 1545.

In 1640, the House of Braganza commenced under John VI., Portugal emancipating itself from Spanish rule.‡ In 1706, the Patriarchate § of

* See Soriano.

† Rejected at the Council of Nice, A.D. 325. Celibacy enjoined to bishops only A.D. 692.

‡ The principal cause of the decline of Spanish prosperity under Philip III. (1600) was the power of the Church. The Spanish dominions then included Spain, Naples, Milan, Parma, Sicily, Sardinia, the Netherlands, Portugal, the New World, &c. Independent of monks and nuns, there was a priest to every ten families! This clergy encouraged the Inquisition, which condemned in Toledo 17,000 persons in one year, Under Philip IV. Spain lost the Low Countries, Portugal (1640), Jamaica, and had an insurrection in Catalonia.

§ A Matriarch, Santa Teresa, is spoken of.

Lisbon was established under John V., who was so liberal of Brazilian gold to Rome that in 1748 he obtained the title of "Most Faithful." The nobles joined the Church against the Crown; then arose the "Great Pombal," who strenuously opposed Papal bulls, unless sanctioned by the Crown. The Nuncio not illuminating his house on the marriage of the Princess of Beira, Pombal ordered him off, thus breaking with Rome. Amongst Pombal's other great reforms, he expelled the Jesuits in 1759.

By Papal bull, 1773, Rome promised not to meddle with the temporal affairs of Portugal.

After the Peninsular War, the Cortes of 1821 decreed the extinction of the Inquisition. On the restoration of the Constitutional Government under Donna Maria II., 1834, the Nuncio was recommended to leave, and the Pope would not confirm the election of bishops. The Jesuits were sent away. Church property was severely handled, and monasteries extinguished. Thus the power of the Church of Rome in Portugal was at its lowest ebb.

On my arrival in Oporto, in 1832, I found that all the monks, and the great majority of the priests, were on the side of Dom Miguel. Of the monks a great number were under arms. There were a few Santa Clara nuns in their convent, and the few priests, if not Liberals, were politically prudent and attended to their duties.

Dom Pedro went to mass generally at the church of La Lapa (holding his levées in the barracks adjoining it). He had by his side a priest of Liberal sentiments, Padre Marcos, as clerical attaché. There was no fanaticism in the army. The Portuguese, and foreigners who were Roman Catholics, attended mass; Protestants, the English chapel, built in 1817.

The enmity of the monks and priests, particularly the ferocity of the former, attracted Dom Pedro's attention, and to punish them their immense property was confiscated to the State.

Dom Pedro was a Roman Catholic of a Christian sort, not a mild disciple of Rome. He doubtless knew of the existence of "Josephism" * and other *isms*.

I have already alluded to Dom Pedro's observations to Admiral Napier at the first mass he heard after his return to Lisbon (1833), his

* "The House of Austria, although it has boasted of its orthodoxy, has given a name to the heresy which, under the name of "Josephism," is more distasteful than Jansenism or Protestantism to the court of Rome."—*Saturday Review*, 16th July, 1864. It is also said of the Emperor Nicholas ("Kinglake," vol. i., p. 62) that religion "did not govern him in daily life, and his way of joining in the service of the Church seemed to disclose something like impatience and disdain."

principal question to the Admiral being "whether he did not think a man might be a good Catholic and good Christian without so much mummery?"

Dom Pedro was well aware of the lax doings of the Church in Brazil; and on his arrival in the Azores he would see more.

Shaw * tells us:—The convent of Our Lady da Luz was one of the principal ones in the Islands. "I might enter into a description of the immoralities, but decency forbids."† A decree was issued, permitting those who wished to quit their conventual life. A great many of the young nuns followed the Portuguese officers to Oporto. The monks were turned out of their monasteries, which were converted into barracks.

On the arrival of Dom Pedro in Oporto, July, 1832, he only found a few priests, and the Santa Clara nuns there; the monks had shouldered musket, and were with the Miguelites. The Donna Maria volunteers,‡ in particular, "were actuated by a feeling of the most deadly enmity to the friars, who had introduced sorrow and shame into their families."

On the march of the Pedroites to Penafiel, at Baltar, the wine found there by the soldiers is believed to have been poisoned by the monks. In the first affair which was at Penafiel, 17th July, the monks fought desperately. So for once Napoleon was wrong that "all monks are cowards."

There was an attempt by some friars to burn the Convent of S. Domingo in Oporto, on the night of the 24th July, 1832. The troops being fatigued with three days' marching and fighting, the 5th Caçadores were asleep in the Convent, the gates were shut, when the fire commenced at the same moment in the four corners, and in an instant

* "Memoirs," vol. i., p. 353.

† In Thomas Robinson's "Anatomie of the English Nunnery at Lisbon," published in 1630, the work is very much upon a level with two coarse books, Peele's and Scogin's Jests, both recently reprinted in Mr. Hazlitt's "Shakespeare's Jest Books." Speaking of the confessor of the nuns, Robinson says: "And when he is merrily disposed (as that is not seldom) then must his darling Kate Knightley play him a merry fit, and sister Mary Brooke, or some other of his late-comewags, must sing him one loose song or other to digest his meal. Then after supper it is usual for him to reade a little of Venus and Adonis, the jests of George Peele, or some such scurrilous booke; for there are few idle pamphlets printed in England which he hath not in the house."—*Reader*, 14th April, 1866.

‡ Shaw's Memoirs.

the whole was in a blaze. The regiment, with the exception of six men, escaped. Their flag was burnt. Three friars were caught running away; one was bayoneted by the infuriated soldiers. This act of ferocious incendiarism settled the question as to the suppression of the religious orders in Portugal by Dom Pedro.

From my own experience, in November, 1832, a number of friars had their quarters in the S. Antonio Convent at Villa Nova. They were most abusive of the Pedroites, and, when they had a chance, sent a bullet across the river. On the 17th December, during the "wine sortie," the Convent of S. Antonio, the quarters of the fighting monks, was fired and plundered.

During our various sorties and defences, I had often pointed out to me groups of armed men, who were known to be monks. As there was no want of courage in them, their loss must have been great before the war closed. But as they were celibates (?) they had no wives or legitimate children to mourn their loss.

1837.

Sá da Bandeira remained in power. On January 26th, the Queen went in state to the Cortes. Her speech was arranged in conformity with the views of the old Constitution, and not of the Charter. She hoped that proper modifications would be made, recommending a "rigorous economy."

The Miguelite guerilla Remechido was up in arms and in force in the Algarves.

The Ministry did not admire the matter of the claims of the British soldiers; they were told "the law was open to them!"

The budget of 20th March showed a deficit of half-a-million sterling. The "Triumvir Cabinet" resigned, when the Queen asked the Cortes to form a ministry! In June, that of Oliveira was formed. On July 3rd, the pregnancy of the Queen was announced by the Cardinal Patriarch of Lisbon, when prayers were offered in all the churches "pro felice partu."

In so bad a state were the finances that the Queen

ceded £12,000 from her allowance.* Dom Fernando was not popular, his *entourage* wished him to have more power than was politic or judicious.

Remechido was enlarging his field of operations. His proclamations were headed—"Jozé Joaquim de Sousa Reis Remechido, Brigadier of the Royal Armies of His Most Faithful Majesty Dom Miguel I., Governor of the kingdom of Algarves, Commander-in-Chief of the Royalist forces south of the Tagus, Knight Commander of the Tower and Sword." In May, Miguelite bands appeared between Cintra and the capital.

In July, the Chartists, including the military of this party, rose, headed by Baron Leiria, and took possession of Valença, on the Minho. The Habeas Corpus was suspended. Baron Campanha (Pimentel), one of Dom Fernando's aides, was arrested and sent to prison. General Bacon was also arrested on suspicion of being connected with the Chartist revolt.

Saldanha declared for the Queen and the Chartists, seized Coimbra, and was joined by Baron de Setubal (Schwalbach) and others.

Sá da Bandeira went against Coimbra, but without success. Saldanha advanced upon the town of Leiria, nearer to Lisbon. In August, he was at Rio Mayor with 1300 infantry and 670 cavalry, when Baron de Bomfim (J. L. Travassos Valdez) was in observation over him. There were new ministerial arrangements, but Sá da Bandeira was premier.

The Duke of Terceira, with 500 followers, many of distinction, left Lisbon for Mafra, taking 40 horses from the Royal stables. There was desertion of the troops and

* It is no uncommon occurrence for the Royal family to cede a portion of their income.

national guards from the Government to the Chartists —a court and barrack movement against the Government. The "ultras," or violent disturbers of the public peace, wished to do barricading business in Lisbon.

Terceira and Saldanha were advancing on Lisbon, and were at Torres Vedras the 21st August, and, in conjunction with Mousinho de Albuquerque, constituted themselves into a provisional regency, advancing to Loires, within eight miles of the capital.

The Constitutionalists, not being able to make any impression upon the Chartists in Valença, retired upon Oporto.

Terceira and Saldanha fell back upon Villafranca. Viscount Das Antas (F. Xavier Silva Pereira) in command of the Portuguese Auxiliary Division lent to Isabella II. of Spain against the Carlists, was understood to be marching homewards to assist the Constitutionalists. "The transactions that ensued at this period are enveloped in much mystery."

On the 28th August the contending parties met at S. George, near Carvalhos. After a musketry engagement of two hours, Saldanha seized a favourable opportunity for sending his cavalry against the Constitutionalists, when these perceived they were received with undrawn swords and cheers for the Charter. An armistice followed, but Bomfim intimated that no agreement could be come to, so both parties remained in a fighting attitude.

September 16th.—The Queen was delivered of a son, when her husband became King-Consort, with the title of Majesty.

Das Antas had come from Spain with a considerable force;* he joined the Constitutionalists, and on the 18th

* About March 10th, 1837, the commander of the Portuguese auxiliaries, the Visconde das Antas, obtained a signal victory. He left Vittoria, march-

September a large party of the Chartists were routed near to Chaves. Saldanha, Terceira, and others left Portugal for England, leaving action to be taken in regard to their political views to the future and opportunity.

Das Antas, flushed with triumph, issued a grandiloquent proclamation, directing the following against England :— "We have recovered our ancient rights, in despite of the infamous policy and pernicious golden influence of the ministry of a powerful nation, which from her insular position would willingly reduce all others to vassalage."(!)

Sá da Bandeira and Das Antas entered Lisbon in triumph.

November 10th.—Bandeira was President of the Council, and Bomfim Minister of Marine and War *ad interim*. Affairs looked comparatively quiet.

In "Extraits" * is the following :—"The Duke of Terceira, then Premier, refused to take 'energetic mea-

ing towards Arlaban, the entrenchments of which were defended by two battalions of Alaveses, and one Valencian, and 150 horse. He attacked the Carlists in their strong positions, and was soon master of them : he also took Villareal, his routed enemy flying to hide their defeat in Salinas. —"Mariana His. de España," iii. 402.

This armed assistance of the Portuguese was in conformity to the tenor of the Quadruple Alliance of 1834. England did its part effectually on the northern coast of Spain with her navy, landing marines, supplying arms, &c., when required. Louis Philippe was anything but decided in his help, for he was manœuvring to be friendly with the northern courts, although he had his eye upon the marriage of one of his sons to the Queen of Spain, in which he failed ; but he succeeded in getting Montpensier as the husband of her sister.

* "Extraits de l'Histoire des Hommes d'Etat et des Hommes de Guerre Vivants ou Morts dans le Siècle, Partie de l'Edition par Catégories de l'Histoire Générale des Hommes Vivants et des Hommes Morts dans le XIX. Siècle, par des ecrivains de diverses nations." Ouvrage illustré . . . en cours de publication à Genève. A. A. de Birague, Directeur.

In January, 1869, was published "Extraits de l'Histoire de La Vie du Maréchal, Duc de Saldanha."

sures' against public disturbers, and an unconstitutional Constitution was signed by the Queen; it was on the occasion of the arrival of the northern deputies in Lisbon, when there was a popular rising. Saldanha, who was at Cintra, hurried to the Queen's side; he was too late, for she had signed (under pressure) the new Constitution, which Saldanha and the Chartists would not recognise. Saldanha went to England, and did not return until two elections had approved of the new order of things.

1838.

The year commenced with "much poverty in the capital and anarchy in the provinces." *March 9th* and 13*th*. Conflicts between the troops and national guard, in which blood was shed; demands that the Queen should appoint "Septembrist" ministers; Costa Cabral governor of Lisbon; Bomfim in command of the troops; the Queen is said to have shown much firmness under trying circumstances. *April 4th*. The Queen's nineteenth birthday, when a decree of amnesty was issued and titles bestowed on the Constitutional or "Septembrist" party. *7th*. The Oporto Wine Company, abolished in 1834, was re-established. *May 25th*. The Constitution of 1838 sworn to. *June*. A riot, commencing at the door of the cathedral during the celebration of Corpus Christi, when the King, Dom Fernando, was covered with abuse, and Bandeira nearly killed; while Costa Cabral, the civil governor, and Silva Carvalho took refuge in the castle of S. George. Several democratic battalions of the National Guard were disbanded.

Among the boldest of the Miguelites was Remechido: he had been educated for the priesthood, and had received the first four grades, when the attractions of a damsel in the Algarves induced him to abandon the clerical profes-

sion, and he married her. The obstacles he overcame in his new career obtained for him the sobriquet of *Remechido*, or "The Bustler." Having taken up arms in 1833, he refused to lay them down, and became the scourge of the south of Portugal. On the *28th July* he was attacked by Colonel Fautoura, captured, and shot at Faro the *2nd* of *August*. He left a son, who inherited his father's command, and, in conjunction with Baioja, rivalled the exploits of his sire. Baioja soon fell, but many candidates appeared for his post.

October 31*st*. The Queen had another son. At the close of the year, the Duke of Terceira became President of the Council. Dom Miguel came again to London, in consequence of the continued difficulties in Portugal. His sister, the Princess de Beira, had just become the second wife of Don Carlos; and one proposal was, that Dom Miguel should smuggle himself through France, enter the Basque Provinces, that Don Carlos should lend him an armed force, and that he should then step into Portugal and join his adherents. "Man proposes," &c. Dom Miguel, however, returned to Rome.

1839.

The subject of slavery under the Portuguese and Brazilian flags was brought before the British Houses of Parliament, but neither Portugal nor Brazil were prepared to give the slave-trade up, although the former had been *paid* somewhat to do so.

December 9th.—In an extraordinary session of the Cortes, the Queen hoped that friendly relations would soon be re-established with Rome, and regretted that the negotiations with England regarding slavery had not been arranged. Constitutionalists and Chartists were about equally represented in the Cortes.

1840.

January 2nd.—Cortes opened by the Queen. New Cortes summoned.

Bomfim was Minister at War and wanted a standing army of 27,000 men. Was it to keep his party in power? Burke said:—"An armed, disciplined body is in its essence dangerous to liberty; undisciplined, it is ruinous to society." Ultimately fixed on the motion of Silva Pereira (brother-in-law of Das Antas) at 21,000. However, the Cabral ministry resigned, but another was formed consisting of other "Septembrists"—the Sabroso Cabinet—Carvalho retaining finance, and obtaining powers to contract a loan for 1400 contos (millions) of reis = £315,000.*

August.—The 6th regiment of the line mutinied at Castel Branco. The cry of its colonel, M. A. da Sousa, was "Viva Donna Maria and down with the Ministry." The Queen issued a proclamation on the 30th, in connection with this mutiny, in which are the following words:—"They wish for tyranny, to rob me of the power the Constitution gives to me; to destroy you, and to the end that I may remain a slave in their hands." This formidable insurrection lasted three weeks, ending by the insurgent soldiers demanding the colours of Colonel Sousa, who was about going into Spain. He refused. They shot him, and returned to their duty!

October.—The Queen gave birth to a daughter, which died shortly afterwards. The Queen's life was in danger.

November.—There was a new Cabinet, with Bomfim as President; Costa Cabral, Minister of Justice.

Lord Palmerston had a little bill against Portugal of

* The dollar or milrei (1000 reis) = 4s. 6d.; the English sovereign = 4500 reis; the conto of reis, £225.

£375,475, for British commissariats in 1826, and half-pay of British officers who had served in Portugal with Wellington and Beresford. There was a menace that, in the event of non-payment, the British Government would consider it necessary to resort to measures more stringent than negotiation. (Was it ever paid?) One of the committees in the Cortes drew up a protest against British claims altogether!

1841.

War was nearly breaking out between Portugal and Spain, regarding the navigation of the Douro, under the Convention of 1835. Mr. Ashton wrote thus to the British Government:—"The continuation of peace is due to Saldanha; any other could not have prevented war."

The navigation of the Douro caused considerable excitement between Spain and Portugal, which nearly led to a war between the two countries. There appeared in the *Gazette de Madrid* a violent article against Portugal, also an insulting one against Donna Maria II. Saldanha gave the Spanish Government forty-eight hours to make reparation, notifying that in the event of refusal a Portuguese fleet should fire the towns from Cadiz to Barcelona. Apology was made.

Portugal had difficulties also with Denmark, when Saldanha requested the Portuguese Minister to leave, if, after three days, satisfaction was not given. The Danish Minister was recalled, but Saldanha obtained his wishes.

England complained that Portugal was too complaisant to France and the United States, and forgot her old ally, and declared she felt disposed to occupy the Portuguese Indian possessions on account of claims. Saldanha went to London with instructions to do as he

pleased. Lord Palmerston told him to tell his Government that England acceded to his desire to modify the convention, *for his sake*, and not for that of the Portuguese Government.

From "Extraits," p. 49 :—

One evening Saldanha was sent for to the Palace. The Queen asked him if he knew the position about the difficulties between her Government and that of England. Saldanha replied in the negative. The Queen proposed to him to see his old friend, Lord Howard de Walden, upon the matter. Saldanha observed that the English Minister could not communicate with him in this way on diplomatic matters; that the Queen should send her Minister officially. Under such conditions Saldanha saw Lord Howard, who said, "Then I will *tell* you nothing; but I will read to you the depatches and private letters of Lord Palmerston."

Saldanha, on his return to the Palace, informed the Queen that the British Government was grieved to see that Portugal had satisfied all the requirements of France and the United States, but had not taken the least notice of England's just claims. They had consequently resolved to occupy the Portuguese possessions in India if, within a short time, the Portuguese Government did not satisfy the said demands; that Lord Palmerston had also notified that British subjects in Portugal had nothing to fear, for if the Portuguese Government confiscated their property, he had Madeira and the Azores to indemnify them.

The Queen asked Saldanha what was to be done? He replied—"Send for the President of the Council, tell him to alter his politics with regard to England, and, if he will not, then change the Ministry." Baron de Sabrozo, the President, declared he would not change his views. The following day the Conde Bomfim was charged to form another Ministry, with the Conde Villa Real as Foreign Minister. Villa Real was influenced by the Under-Secretary, whose *exalted patriotism* caused him to hate the English, so no satisfaction was rendered to the British Government. At the beginning of May a British steam frigate entered the Tagus, to be under Lord Howard's orders, and to be in readiness to take his lordship's letters to Malta, which would be sent onward to the Governor-General of India, to take possession of Goa and Macao, if, by the 15th, the Queen had not signed the convention sent by Lord Palmerston, which was written in the most humiliating terms for the Government.

In a conference of Senators and Deputies, at which Saldanha did not attend, it was resolved that the Queen could not sign the convention, but that Palmella was to be sent to England at once. He declined, and said

that Saldanha was the only person who had influence with the British Government. The Queen sent for Saldanha; and at 8 a.m. he arrived at the Palace, where he found the Ministry and the Duke of Palmella with the Queen. The previous night had been passed in great agitation. So pressing were all, that Saldanha offered to go to London. Before he started he waited on Lord Howard, and said, "The frigate will not leave on the 15th for Malta, for I go to-morrow to London with full powers." After a long discussion, Lord Howard promised him that, at the risk of being recalled, he would not dispatch the orders to Malta, until he heard the results of Saldanha's visit to London. It was decided that Saldanha was to do as he thought best. On the day of his arrival in London, he was received by Lord Palmerston, who greeted him with—"I am glad to see you here." Saldanha replied, "And I am glad to hear you say so."

After a conference of five hours, all was agreed to with the exception of four points, to be left for a second meeting three days hence. Lord Clarendon, then Home Secretary, lent his good services to Saldanha, agreeing with him on the four points that had been reserved. Palmerston ended by saying that the object of the convention was to humiliate the Portuguese Government, adding "that if Saldanha would give him his word of honour, he would declare to his Government it was not on their account, but only on that of Saldanha's, that the British Government had consented to withdraw the convention, and that he, Lord Palmerston, had been authorised by the Council to tear it up."

In this way was settled the most serious question ever mooted between the two Governments.

Dom Miguel's party in Portugal, as well as the Absolutos on the Continent, considered he had now another chance of returning to his country. He left Rome for England, remaining some time, but he could make no move, and returned again to Italy.

1842.

In *December*, 1841, the municipal elections commenced in Lisbon. There were now two great contending parties, the Moderados, who supported the Ministry, and the Constitutionals, that of order; the pure Septembrists were considered as Revolutionists or even Republicans, and there were most probably many Miguelites amongst them.

The Ministry was of the Moderados and seemed to have a preponderance of power; still, towards the latter end of *January*, a revolution broke out in Oporto, when the Minister of Justice, Costa Cabral, proclaimed on the 27th Dom Pedro's Charter and formed a provisional Government in the name of the Queen—the general opinion being that this was the wish of the Court, the Government in Lisbon *appearing* to act in opposition to Cabral's movement. However, Costa Cabral was relieved of his office, and a Royal proclamation issued against the Oporto insurrection.

February 7th.—A Cabinet was formed by the Duke of Palmella, having Bandeira with him, which dismissed several colonels of regiments in Lisbon, they being avowed advocates of the Charter.

The populace and the troops demanded Dom Pedro's Charter. On the 8th, the Cabinet tendered its resignation. On the 10th, the Charter again became the law of the land. There were three days of public rejoicing, and the Queen went to the Cathedral to return thanks.

In *February*, a new Cabinet was formed by Terceira, but Costa Cabral, as Home Minister, wielded the power of the State. In *July*, the Queen opened the Cortes. With regard to the Charter, she said :—"Your mission is to consolidate it, and I trust you will fulfil it." The slave trade was to be repressed. Total exports at Lisbon £398,840; imports, £1,541,760, which was not in favour of Portuguese commerce.

1844.

January 2nd.—The Queen opened the Cortes.

February 5th.—Revolt known as that of Cesar Vascon-

cellos,* at Torres Novas, originating in the mutiny of a regiment of dragoons, their cry being, "The Queen and Charter, and down with the Ministers!" Bomfim was at the head of it. There was an immediate order for his arrest. He, however, escaped. Bomfim and 700 of his followers shut themselves up in Almeida, but shortly, with a few of his friends, he retreated into Spain.

Costa Cabral commenced issuing arbitrary decrees, for the dissolution of the municipal guards, against the proceedings of certain judges, against professors of the universities, &c., &c. Still he managed to get a bill of indemnity for his acts in September.

An attempt was made to abolish slavery in the Portuguese possessions in the East by a bill in the Chamber of Peers by the Count Lavradio and Bandeira; it was opposed by 23 to 18.

December 14*th*.—The Cortes prorogued by the Queen.

1845.

Nothing of importance occurred during the year. In the Royal speech, *April* 20th, on which day the Session closed, the Queen concluded by saying:—"I have the satisfaction to be able to assure you that perfect tranquillity reigns throughout the continent and ultra-marine possessions."

1846.

January 2*nd*.—The Queen opened the Cortes.

* This family is said to have got its name from the following circumstance: A noble at the Court had a beautiful wife. The King was fond of talking to her, which her husband did not admire, and, asking permission to leave the Royal presence, the King smilingly said, "Vas com zelos"—"Go, with your jealousy!"—thus Vasconcellos.

April and *May*—There was insurrection in the Upper Minho in consequence of a new health tax, which included burial fees and other obnoxious laws. The people were in arms against the Costa Cabral Government. Jozé Cabral, brother of Costa Cabral, was then in Oporto, and had to fly to Lisbon. The Cabrals resigned and left for Cadiz. This is known as the Revolution of Maria da Fonte.* Palmella was sent for by the Queen in *May*, Saldanha becoming Minister of War, and the Cortes convoked for September. Early in *October*, the Conde Das Antas had formed a Governmental Commission, or "Supreme Junta," in Oporto, and the inhabitants had put the old lines and batteries of 1832-3 into a state of defence.† The Duke of Terceira was imprisoned there on the 9th. On the 31st, Palmella resigned the Ministry, when Saldanha formed another.

The same day the Queen's troops defeated the insurgents at Evora. The British squadron, under Admiral Parker, arrived in the Tagus, at the request of the Queen; and at one time it was feared that the Royal family would have to leave and take refuge in England. The Queen's troops, under Visconde Setubal, defeated the rebels at Viana, as did Baron Cazal (J. de Barros) in Tras os Montes. Loulé, Bandeira, and others were

* On the way from Chaves to Villa Real is *Sabrosa;* here is buried General Macdonald, who, having quitted the English army as a major, subsequently entered the service of Dom Miguel. He effected the admirable retreat after Saldanha's battle of Almoster, February, 1834; but afterwards in evil days—viz., those of the Revolution of Maria da Fonte against the Conde Thomar in 1846—returned to Portugal to take part in the civil dissensions, and was slain, near Sabrosa, in a personal rencontre, whilst performing the duty of a subaltern—that of ascertaining what were the positions of the army of Donna Maria.

† Destroyed by order of the Government in 1847.

deprived of their titles and rank. The principal success over the insurgents under Bandeira was on the 16th *November* by Baron Cazal and Visconde Vinhaes, near Chaves. Bandeira had to retreat rapidly to Oporto, which continued for a lengthened period the head-quarters of the rebels. On the 26th Palmella was banished from Portugal. At the commencement of *December* Valença was wrested from the rebels. Das Antas shut himself up in Santarem and was besieged by Saldanha. We now arrive at the memorable 22nd of December, when Saldanha defeated his old comrade Bomfim and the rebels at Torres Vedras. The following is from the "Extraits:"—

Old political parties appeared, when a serious revolution was imminent. A depôt of arms had been discovered in Lisbon, and it was known that eighteen regiments of said-to-be-Republican Volunteers were ready to fight at the first signal. Saldanha having procured the necessary authority from the Queen during the night of the 6th of October, he boldly disbanded the volunteers. The insurrectional movement had for its object the re-establishing in power of the Conde de Thomar (A.B. Costa Cabral). The Conde das Antas had already formed in Oporto a "Governmental Commission," and was marching on Lisbon. Saldanha sallied from the capital with forces in the proportion of one to five, obliging his enemy to divide his followers, one part under Bomfim, the other under Das Antas. Saldanha took the strong fortress of Torres Vedras, containing 2000 men, by assault on the 22nd December. Bomfim, who was in the town, had to surrender. Saldanha lost one-third of his army, "but the monarchy was saved." It was reported and currently believed that Saldanha had been killed in this serious

affair; but he soon appeared in Lisbon safe and sound.*

In 1846, Simão José da Luz Soriano published in Lisbon his "Historia do Cerco do Porto." At page 557, vol. i., I find he reproduces from the *National* (Paris) of 8th April, 1846,† the "TRATADO SECRETO DE VERONA," added to the so-called Holy (Unholy?) Alliance, signed by the Continental Absolutists, September 26th, 1815;‡ but the Secret Treaty, or additions to the above, was signed at Verona, 22nd November, 1822, by Metternich, for Austria; Chateaubriand, for France; Bernstet, for Prussia; and Nesselrode, for Russia:—

"1st Article. To oppose in every way representative government.

"2nd. To suppress the liberty of the press.

"3rd. To support the Roman Catholic religion; to thank the Pope for all he has done; and to solicit his powerful co-operation.

* The Duke told the author in February, 1869, that he had never been wounded. At the battle of Nives (France), December, 1813, a ball struck his leather stock in front, ran partly round, and then off. Just before the Duke was sent for from Rome in 1869, he was walking with the Duchess in the gardens of the Borghese Palace, in company with Cardinal Bonaparte and other celebrities. A carriage with an English lady approached, when a woman geting up from the ground, frightened the horses, making them tear away violently, the wheels nearly going over the Duchess. The Duke was badly injured, being wounded in seven places, more particularly in the face. To have gone through the Peninsular war, the Wars in Brazil, the War of Succession, and subsequent Civil wars, without a scratch, and to get seven wounds, as above stated, was a most unmilitary occurrence.

† The *National* took it from Jonathan Elliot's "American Collection of Treaties, from 1788 to 1834."

‡ The Treaty of 1815 was signed by Russia, Austria, and Prussia, "to endeavour to regulate their future conduct by the principles of the Gospel;" and it pledged them to sustain each other in any future emergency that might arise.

"4th. That as Spain and Portugal showed evident signs of Liberalism, France was to prevent this; that an annual subsidy of twenty millions of francs was to be given by Russia and Austria for this object until the end of the war.

"5th. To establish as quickly as possible in the Peninsula the same state of things (Absoluto) as before the revolution of Cadiz.

"6th. The Treaty to be altered as circumstances may arise.

"7th. Ratification to take place in Paris within six months."

Chateaubriand denied the existence of this Treaty in the *National* of the 8th April, 1846; but the Absoluto army of Charles X. of France had entered Spain in 1823 and put down the Constitution.

Then the Legitimist Cabinet of the Tuileries and the Tory one of St. James's in 1826 and 1828, energetically opposed a Constitutional Government in Portugal. In 1830 were produced the despotic "Ordinances of Charles X.," giving rise to the Revolution of July, which broke up the old branch of the Bourbons, shattered the Miguelites in Portugal and the Carlists in Spain.

1847.

After Saldanha's victory at Torres Vedras and partial suppression of insurrectionary movements, some bands of rebels entered Oporto 7th *January*. *May* 21*st*. London conference, by which England, France, and Spain determined to assist the Queen of Portugal to terminate the Civil War. Valença sustained a vigorous siege against the Septembrists, until relieved by General Concha. The capture of the squadron of the Oporto Junta by the British

cruisers followed on the 31st *May*, including Das Antas and 4000 men who had come out of Oporto. After this there was a suspension of hostilities on the part of Bandeira. *25th June.* Saldanha attacked Villa Nova for twelve hours, but without much success. General Concha invested the city next day, and on the 30th the Spanish troops marched into Oporto and the Junta capitulated; the British occupied the Foz, and the Duke of Terceira was made governor after his long imprisonment. Bandeira now submitted to the Queen's authority. The Civil War was at an end, but political differences increased at the end of July, when England requested the resignation of the Tojal Ministry (which had succeeded that of Saldanha), as it was identified with the Cabral policy. After a little "virtuous indignation" they resigned, the 13th August. The Queen, after trying R. F. de Magalhaens and F. P. de Magalhaens, succeeded, in that A. A. de Mello e Carvalho formed a ministry. A political programme was issued, "All was to be done in the interest of order, legality, and the maintenance of the throne and the constitution."

1848.

Portugal was tranquil, and presented a happy contrast to most of the other Continental States. At the close of the year the ministry resigned, when Saldanha became premier of another.

Dom Miguel left Rome secretly, accompanied by an Englishman, Captain B——, who played the part of master, Dom Miguel that of servant. Arriving in England, they went to Captain B.'s house (Shepperton Cottages, Islington); thence Dom Miguel repaired to Senhor Saraiva's, Nottingham Street, Marylebone. It was sup-

posed by some of his partizans that he had a chance of being recalled to Portugal, but he was again disappointed.

In this, the "Annus Mirabilis," Pius IX.* directed his benediction from the altar of St. Peter's to the Liberals and the Democrats! Why did he not continue on this road? Was it through Mazzini? No; many friends of the Pope said that what his Holiness feared was the chocolate (poison?) of the Jesuits.

Prince Charles Louis Napoleon Bonaparte became the President of the French Democratic Republic. (Assisted by the "Brethren of the Elysée," Morny, Fleury, Magnan, Persigny (Fialin), Maupas, Le Roy or St. Arnaud, made himself Emperor of the French 20th December, 1852.)

In 1847, the Portuguese debts amounted to 25,823 contos = £5,810,175; thus troubles, insurrections, &c., had tripled the debts in 20 years. The expenditure on debts in 1848-9 was valued at 3474 contos £771,650.

Army—Infantry, 21,150; cavalry, 3,550; artillery, 3,400 = 28,100, or about 18,000 in active service; add for home and the colonies, the generals, staffs, engineers, officers of the ten military divisions, forts, schools, arsenals, civil officers, telegraphic corps (200 men), and the veterans; in the colonies, 9,000 infantry.

Navy—Two line-of-battle ships of 80 guns; 5 frigates of 50; 1 frigate of 44; 8 corvettes of 20 and 24; 11 brigs of 10 and 20; 7 schooners; 2 steamers.

The Court, Government, &c.—The Queen Donna Maria had now seven children living, the last, Dom Augusto, born 4th November, 1847. Dom Fernando was king-consort. The Duke of Saldanha was President of the Council; J. J. Falcao, Minister of Finance; J. J. G. de Castro, for Foreign Affairs; Justice, J. Elias; Marine, Baron d'Ourem (Lapa).

Twenty-eight Courts and States had diplomatic representatives in Lisbon.

Population—In Portugal 3,412,500; the Azores, 330,500; Africa, 786,610; Asia, 381,712; Oceania and China, 223,310; Total, 5,134,640.

Finances—Income from 1st July, 1848, to 30th June, 1849, 10,480 contos

* Castelar's Speech in the Spanish Cortes, May 5th, 1869.

of reis ; expenditure, 11,784 contos ; deficit, 1304 contos = £293,400. To cover this deficit it was recommended to decrease the pensions, and reduce the national debt to three-fourths of its value!

The Foreign and Home debt in 1845 was 78,959 contos = £17,665,775, bearing interest of 2,878 contos = £647,550. Non-consolidated debt in paper-money, old debts, liquidated, forced loan of Dom Miguel, owing to *emigrés*, unpaid incomes, &c., 10,175 contos = £2,289,375.

1849.

The Cortes was opened on the 2nd *January*, when the Queen stated in her speech the profound sorrow she felt that the Holy Father had had to leave his dominions and go to Gaeta for protection, to which place, however, he had been followed by her minister.

March.—There was a new Ministry under the Conde de Thomar (Costa Cabral).

Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, having espoused the cause of Italian regeneration against Austria, ended his unhappy life in exile, broken-hearted, July 28th, 1849, at Oporto, at one of the beautiful "Entre Quintas."* Charles Albert commenced by beating the Austrians in 1848 at Goito. Pescheira surrendered to him. However, in July, the Sardinians had to fall back on Milan, when there was an armistice. At this time the tide of revolution swept over the Continent, and great political convulsions upset many thrones and unseated many dynasties. On the 12th March, 1849, the Sardinians resumed hostilities. Radetsky, the Austrian commander, defeated a division of Sardinians and occupied Mortara. Charles Albert lost the battle of Novara, March 23rd. Throughout that long day he led his troops on to the attack, imperilling his life recklessly. When all was over, he said, with bitterness, "even death had turned traitor to him." After signing his abdication in favour of his son Victor Emmanuel, he left for Portugal, where he soon died.

1850.

On the opening of the Cortes on the 2nd *January*, it

* A quinta may be a country house, a farm, so called because the farmer pays to the landlord the fifth part of the produce.

was stated in the Queen's speech that "there had been public tranquillity."

In the spring of this year I visited Lisbon, and was much struck with the general improvement of the city. I saw Donna Maria and her husband, Dom Fernando, at the Opera. There was no enthusiasm evinced for the Royal family. The Thomar Ministry and their doings were unpopular, and disturbances seemed to be brewing.

June 22nd.—An American squadron arrived in the Tagus to enforce claims on the Portuguese Government, which were arranged.

1851.

A. F. M. de Sá in his "Compendio da His. de Portugal" for this year has only the following:—"Military Regenerative movements by the Duke of Saldanha."

In Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates" we find:—"*April 10th*—Military insurrection, headed by the Duke of Saldanha, who, being outstripped in his march on Santarem by the King-Consort flees northward. *24th*—Oporto declares for Saldanha, who had left the city for Vigo, to embark for England; but called back by the insurgents. *29th*—Saldanha makes a triumphant entry into Oporto. *May 16th*—The Conde de Thomar, Prime Minister, resigns and embarks on board a British ship for England. Dom Fernando had to give up the command of the army to Saldanha."

We find in the "Extraits" relating to this period the following:—"It would seem that the Duke of Terceira, when about to leave Lisbon, was in so distressed a state of mind that the King-Consort, to call him to himself, was obliged to shake him by the shoulders. The Duke repeated several times that he would not fight against

Saldanha, his friend and companion in arms. On the arrival of Saldanha at Leiria he wrote the following letter to Terceira, dated 11th *April*, explaining why he had placed himself at the head of the insurrection" :—

"Excellent Sir.

"For a long time a general rising has been in preparation throughout the kingdom against the prevarications and continual infractions of the Constitution, of which the Conde de T. (Thomar *) is the cause. More than once I could by legal means have sent that unworthy man from the ministry. Another resource left me to prevent a terrible revolt was to accept the invitation of our brave companion in arms, who, seeing with horror the fatal future of the country certain to result from the presence of the Conde de T. in the ministry, pressed upon me to be their leader, so that by means of a military demonstration we might obtain what the nation required.

"Until the present all the popular leaders have been tranquil; but now is the time to act. Your Excellency can take upon yourself the same activity as I do, for the military demonstrations of which I have taken the command will not be sufficient to cause the fall of —— (Thomar) who oppresses the nation.

"It is said that your Excellency has left Lisbon at the head of troops to assist the prevaricating minister, who has merited the national hate; but I have the full conviction that neither you, nor any of the military accompanying your Excellency, fail to share my views, my sentiments, my desire to deliver the nation from a frightful yoke.

"Duke of Terceira! Can your Excellency ever forget that after this life there is an inexorable tribunal, that of history, in the glorious pages of which will be your honoured name, but that such would be effaced by your acting as the champion of that man (Thomar), of so odious a prevaricator? Your Excellency should call to mind that by such conduct you imperil the throne, and cause the greatest of dangers to the dynasty. Should your Excellency persist, to me will belong the honour, after fourteen months, of having done all in my power to prevent the dangers of a revolution; to your Excellency, the disgrace of having rendered it indispensable. Let us reflect that, as in heaven the justice of God reigns, moral laws exist on earth. The insurrection will not be a mere conflict

* Donna Maria had been led to believe that Thomar was the only man who could prevent the ultra-Liberal party getting into power, an idea which she had to give up.

of parties; foreigners will profit by it; the end will be most disastrous; it will prove to Europe that the Portuguese nation will only be governed by corruption and unconstitutionalism. The country cries for justice!

"It now depends upon your Excellency to spare our land from these calamities. Assist to prepare the fall of this man. To conclude, advise the Queen to call to her ministry honest men, who have the confidence of the nation. Never, so much as at this moment, has there weighed over your Excellency so heavy a responsibility. God protect your Excellency.

"DUKE OF SALDANHA."

Saldanha's enemies had set the Queen against him, and he was deprived of all his honours. The country was in a deplorable state, and a most serious revolution was momentarily expected. The 8th of April Saldanha left Cintra with five aides-de-camp, and proclaimed insurrection against the Thomar Government, but he was devoted to the Queen and the Charter. On his march his followers increased, and the cry of the people was, "Long live our father, our saviour!" On the 12th he was at Coimbra. The Queen still sustained her minister, Thomar. The King and Terceira (who went unwillingly) left Lisbon the 9th April against Saldanha; on the 13th Lisbon was placarded with "Long live the Charter, the Queen, and Saldanha! Down with the Ministry!"

Whilst Saldanha went to the north, Oporto, Elvas, Coimbra, Braga, and other places declared for him. He had succeeded; his former enemies had become his partisans. The diplomatic body came to Oporto to congratulate him;* a deputation of the most influential persons begged he would go to the capital, that they would proclaim the Queen's abdication and his Regency. He, however, declared he would shoot anyone who was dis-

* Saldanha's viva at Oporto of "The Reformed Constitutional Charter," neutralised that of "Down with the Queen!"

loyal to the Queen. On the 27th April the Thomar or Cabral Ministry fell, and Saldanha was saluted as the "Regenerator of the Constitution."

The Queen wrote, without loss of time, to him the following letter:—

"I render justice to the sentiments of Marshal Saldanha, because I believe him to be incapable of wishing to abuse the situation in which he is. I have faith in his honour as a soldier, and in his chivalry. I confide in all safety to the General and friend of my father the future of this country and crown. I request that he may come at once to Lisbon. He will find me firmly resolved in giving him all my help, for I know it is necessary to root out all abuses, so that the constitutional system should not be a fallacy, and that my name may never be used to cover injustice.

(Signed) "MARIA."

"*Lisbon*, 1*st May*, 1851."

Saldanha came at once to Lisbon, and, when in presence of the Queen, thus addressed her:—

"Madame—I render many thanks to God for having allowed me once more to kiss the hand of your Majesty in this palace. I have done more for your Majesty than I shall ever do for my wife and my daughter; for them I would lay down my life, but for the Queen I have done more—I have risked the distinction for which I have laboured all my life in the midst of so many dangers and privations—in the hope of obtaining in the pages of the history of my country an honoured name. If fortune had not favoured me in my hazardous enterprise, no one would have hesited to say that the object of the commotion of which I have been the instigator was not only to deliver your Majesty from the danger which threatened her, to make the throne and dynasty firmer, but it was also to revenge myself of the injuries of which I have been the victim."

Up to this period, in 15 years, there had been fourteen revolutions!

Immediately after the above movement, the Queen, her husband, and two eldest sons visited the northern provinces, accompanied by Saldanha. At Viana, with other expressions, was the following:—"We love Saldanha,

and the more so that he has brought your Majesty amongst us."

It was at Barcellos, during the journey, that the house in which the Queen was sleeping took fire, and she barely preserved her life by escaping in her night-dress.

Dom Miguel, as Conde de Zamora, visited the Great Exhibition in London. He then returned to Germany, and married on the 24th September the Princess Sophia Amelia of Löwestein-Rosenberg, born 3rd April, 1831.

After Louis Napoleon's violent and sanguinary *coup d'état* in December, many Republicans begged for asylum in Portugal. Their coming much disturbed the French Minister, the Marquis de Lisle, who requested Saldanha that some of them should be sent away. Saldanha replied:—That Portugal was one of the freest lands, and that emigrants of all nations could live there, and that it was impossible to send them away.*

* *The* Napoleon performed his great *coup d'etat* by deposing the Council of Five Hundred, November 9th, 1799, but without bloodshed; he did it boldly when he became First Consul, then Emperor. The nephew got his *coup d'etat* done for him, December 1st, 1851, when the deputies and nearly all the influential men of France were seized and imprisoned. On the 4th was the *coup de canon, arranged* to strike terror over France, which led him to be called Emperor. (I am informed by a friend who was in Paris at the time, and had good opportunities of knowing what was going on, that Canrobert said to Louis Napoleon on the morning of the 4th, "It is possible we may not have occasion to act." Louis Napoleon replied, "Il faut agir"—You must act;" meaning, that if the occasion did not arise, it was to be made.) *Coup d'etat* means a master-piece of State policy; *coup*, cutting or felling—thus Louis Napoleon felled the liberties of France. The army lost in killed and wounded *twenty-five;* the number killed by the troops in forty-eight hours will never be known. The colonel of one regiment declared that his regiment had killed 2,400. Thirty to forty regiments were actively employed at the work of slaughter. The penal settlements of Africa and the torrid swamps of Cayenne, according to Cassagnac, took at least 26,500 victims. There were some thousands of political writers,

1852.

The Queen laid the foundation-stone of the monument to Dom Pedro in Lisbon, in the centre of the Roçio or Praça de Dom Pedro, July 17th. On the 18th, an addition and revision was made in Dom Pedro's Charter of 1826, by the Cortes and sanction of the Queen, and the Prince Royal took the oaths to the Constitution. The Cortes is a representative assembly, composed of two chambers. The Peers, 133 in number, are named for life; the Deputies, 179, are chosen by election. On the 18th December was the "forcible" conversion of the national funds.

1853.

On the 15th November, the Queen, Donna Maria II., died in child-bed after great suffering, during which it was found necessary to sacrifice the life of her infant. She had had a very troublous reign of 19 years. Her burial took place at S. Vicente da Fora on the 19th. By her marriage with Dom Fernando she had eleven children: Pedro, Luiz, João, Maria, Anna, Antonia, Fernando, Augusto; the others died young.

"Um Portuense" observes:—"Donna Maria was of regular height, robust, had dark eyes, and was fair—a pattern of domestic virtues, and an enlightened woman."

It was the desire of the Queen that Saldanha should pay her a visit every evening at nine, remaining until eleven. After tea the Queen did her embroidery; the

lawyers, physicians, and literary men, shut up for months in casemates and between decks of the 'Canada' and 'Duguesclin.' "The reader would do well to close his eyes to these horrible pages."—See Kinglake's "Crimea."

King occupied himself in works of art, such as sculpture of ivory, engraving, and drawing; conversation being of a friendly and familiar nature. To give some idea of the subjects, the following is offered :—

In the Queen's room there were only three chairs, of different patterns, but most commodious; they were called the Queen's chair, the King's chair, and the Marshal's chair. One evening, when the Marshal was seated, the Queen thus addressed him: 'We are going to put your sincerity to the test; after tea you will tell me of all my faults, then the King his.' Saldanha replied, 'Your Majesty makes me think of Madame de Maintenon.* At the period of her great intimacy with the excellent Fénélon—an intimacy that lasted until the epoch when the famous question of Quietism † was debated—Madame de Maintenon, probably to put the sincerity of the Archbishop to the test, asked him to tell her the faults he had observed in her. Fénélon obeyed, and, with proper regard due to so high a personage, made his observations on Madame de Maintenon. The portrait he drew

* Madame Maintenon, the widow of Scarron the comic poet, became the governess of the children of Louis XIV. by Madame Montespan. The King fell in love with her, consulted his confessor, Père la Chaise, who advised a private marriage between him and Madame de Maintenon, which was performed by the Archbishop of Paris. "Her greatest defect was the narrowness of her religious prejudices, under the influence of which she befriended the Jesuits and incited the King to religious persecutions."

† Quietism, the doctrine of certain ascetic Christians, who taught that the chief duty of man was to be rapt in the contemplation and love of God. Molinos, a Spanish priest, embodied the principles of Quietism in his works, which were condemned at Rome, where he was imprisoned and died in 1696. About the same time Madame Guion, in France, showed herself a great advocate of Quietism. The Archbishop of Paris styled the contents of her books "a monstrous and diabolical system." Fénélon undertook her defence, and this led to a hot controversy between him and Bossuet, which ended in the condemnation of Fénélon by the Pope.

was not a very flattering one, but she had sufficient command over herself not to give way to her first impulses of self-love, and in the end she continued to attach herself still more closely to the illustrious Fénélon. I will obey your Majesty in the same manner, but on two conditions; the first, that your Majesty will follow the example of Madame de Maintenon, the second, that, when I have concluded, your Majesty will tell me of my defects.' Saldanha obeyed the Queen's orders, taking Fénélon as his guide; her Majesty on her part followed the example of Madame de Maintenon.

A Courtier.—When the late Fuad Pacha was ambassador at Lisbon, he presented the Queen of Portugal, Donna Maria, with a splendid necklace of diamonds, of which the two most beautiful were converted into earrings. "I hope his Royal Highness will not be offended?" asked the Queen. "My master will be but too happy that your Majesty should lend her ear to anything coming from him," was the reply.

Of notable occurrences during Donna Maria's reign, was the destruction by fire of the Royal Treasury, 14th July, 1836; severe earthquake in the Island of Terceira in 1844; the Academy of Bellas Artes founded in 1836; asylum for the poor in the former Capuchin Convent, 1837; theatre of Donna Maria II. built 1845; asylums for orphans; Lyceums in the capitals of the provinces;*

* The years of continuous political difficulties that disturbed Portugal after the accession of Donna Maria II., gave the ultra-Church party frequent opportunities to try and get some advantage or other, and it was well backed up by the Miguelite party. Then the Crown did not like to be always on bad terms with Rome, on its own account, and before the death of Donna Maria II., to enter the Lyceums the youths had to pass examinations in—1. The rudiments of grammar. 2. Christian doctrine —Sunday services, saudação angelica (Hail, Queen of Heaven!), Salve

Royal Conservatory of Lisbon; Polytechnic School; Qualifications exacted from Professors of Instruction; opening of the first railway.

The principal writers who died during her reign were J. A. das Neves, 1834; J. F. Borges and F. M. Morato, 1838; F. de S. Luiz, 1845; S. P. Ferreira, 1846.

In the previous, or Dom Pedro's reign and regency, the following writers of note died:—Nuno A. P. Pato Monez, in 1826; Felix d'Avelar Brotero, in 1828; Francisco de Borja G. Stokler, 1829; J. A. de Macedo, in 1831; Manoel B. Carneiro, 1833.

Rainha, (hymn of praise), symbolo dos Apostolos, articles of faith, the commandments, commandments of Holy Mother Church, works of mercy, mortal sins, theological virtues, cardinal virtues, bemaventurangas (blessings), gifts of the Holy Spirit, sacrament of Holy Mother Church, general confession, act of faith, act of charity, act of hope, act of contrition, and act of attrition; 3. Manners; 4. Portuguese History; 5. Geography of Portugal and its possessions; 6. Weights and measures.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE REIGN OF DOM PEDRO V.

1853.

Dom Fernando, Regent—Dom Pedro V. visits the European Courts—Saldanha begs to retire from his long Ministry—Opening of railways—Yellow fever in Lisbon—Affairs of the slavers "'Charles' et 'Georges;'" the Emperor of the French gives up the free negro emigrating scheme—Marriage of the King to the Princess Stephanie—Early and lamented death of the Queen—Death of the Duke of Terceira—Death of Napier—The King opens the Exhibition at Oporto—Brothers (Masonic) Loulé and Saldanha—Death of the Infante Dom Fernando—Death of the King: great grief of the people—Lisbon and neighbourhood unhealthy.

The eldest son of Donna Maria, Dom Pedro, was born in Lisbon, 16th September, 1837; proclaimed King 15th November, 1853, on the death of his mother. His father, Dom Fernando, the King-Consort, became Regent until 16th September, 1855, when Dom Pedro V., in his 18th year, began to reign.

The King sent his sons, Dom Pedro and Dom Luiz, his next brother, on their travels over Europe, in 1854, at the express injunction of the Queen their mother. They visited the courts of England, Belgium, Holland, some of the German States, Austria, and Prussia. In 1855 they went to Rome, Naples, Turin, Switzerland, and were at the opening of the Great Exhibition in Paris.

1854.

Flooding of the principal rivers in February and October. Slaves on royal domains set free 30th December.

1855.

Inauguration of the railway of Cintra and Vendas Novas.

1856.

Saldanha begged to retire on the 5th June from the Ministry at the head of which he had so long been. He subsequently occupied himself in causing mineral explorations of the country, the erection of copper smelting furnaces, encouraged manufactures, and advanced the state of the medical profession.

Opening of the first section of the railway from Lisbon to Santarem, 28th October. Portugal visited a second time by cholera. The electric telegraph established.

1857.

Yellow fever appeared in Lisbon in September, continuing until December.

November 29th.—The French "emigrant ships" (slavers) for negroes, 'Charles' and 'Georges' seized by the Portuguese authorities. Anger of the French Government; its ultimatum sent, 13th October, 1858, as well as their ships of war to the Tagus. The slavers were restored on the 25th October under protest, and the Emperor of the French gave up the free negro emigration scheme.

In the affair of the 'Charles' and 'Georges,' as also on the occasion of the epidemic, Pedro V. showed both manly courage and warm-hearted sympathy, which made him exceedingly popular.

The Infanta, Duchess of Loulé, died.

1858.

May 11th.—Tremblings of the earth at Point Delgado. Marriage of the King to the Princess Stephanie of Hohenzollern, born 5th July, 1837, married by procuration at Berlin, 29th April; arrived in Lisbon, 17th May. On the 18th the marriage in person took place. There were five days' public rejoicings.

May 27th.—The King was invested with the order of K.G. by the Marquis of Bath.

This year the ceremony of the "Beijamão," or *eternal* kissing of the hands of royalty, was abolished.

November 11th.—Earth-tremblings at Setubal; made people at Lisbon think of the terrible earthquake of 1755.*

1859.

Cession of the Archipelago of Flores in Oceania to the Dutch, 20th April.

* Lisbon had attained the height of its splendour, when in less than a quarter of an hour it was overwhelmed by the most fearful catastrophe that history records (save that of August 13th, 1868, which took place in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, extending into Chile, and across the Pacific. Cities in the interior and on the coasts were ruined, and those on the coast, after the great shock, had to experience the earthquake wave, rising in some places to fifty feet, rolling in upon the land, and, on retiring, washing the ruins into the sea. Iquique, in Peru, in particular, the principal shipping port of the nitrate of soda, disappeared). There had been shocks in Lisbon in 1009, 1117, 1146. In 1356 they were more severe; in 1531 they returned at intervals for three days; in 1579 three streets were thrown down; in 1699 and 1722 they were violent but horizontal. Then followed the devastating one of November, 1755, commencing on the 1st. On the 7th there was another severe shock. The loss of life has been given at from 10,000 to 80,000; loss of property, 20 millions sterling. The great Pombal set an example of courage and energy. He remained days and nights in his carriage, or on horseback. Whoever could not give a clear account of the property found on him was hung, and 350 persons thus suffered. It was only by Pombal's influence that the seat of Government was not transferred to Rio Janeiro. Lisbon is built on basaltic rocks, Oporto on granite.

Early and lamented death of the Queen on the 17th July.

1860.

April 26th.—Death of the Prime Minister, the Conde Villa-Flor, Duke of Terceira. He had been an early, suffering, and daring patriot, the defender, under the greatest privations, of liberty in the Western Islands, and advocate of the cause of Donna Maria II. For a time he was commander during the siege of Oporto. His disembarkation with 2500 men from Oporto with Napier, his landing in the Algarves, his rapid march and defeat of those sent to oppose him, and his taking of Lisbon was a wonderful performance. He was the conqueror of the Miguelites at the last battle of Acciceira in 1834. It is on record that the family of Villa-Flor was a picture of domestic happiness. The Countess was the most amiable woman possible; her manner made the dejected forget their miseries in the Islands. She was not only the support of her husband in necessity, but the person to advise him to attempt daring deeds.

C. Napier says of him:—"He was a good, unobtrusive man. When sent on service, no one could perform it better, as he often proved; but he was not a person likely to push himself into notice."

November 9th.—Admiral Sir Charles Napier died. He was created by Dom Pedro, Conde de Cabo de S. Vicente for his brilliant victory over the Miguelite fleet on the 5th July, 1834.*

* In 1840 the English Government sent him to Beyrout, and after storming the Egyptian garrison at Sidon he defeated Ibrahim Pasha himself in October on the heights of Lebanon. Having distinguished himself at the siege of Acre, he went to blockade Alexandria. On his own responsibility he concluded with Mehemet Ali a convention which secured to his

Expedition to Angola in August. The Infante Dom Luiz accompanied it, professionally, as a naval officer. Marriage of the Infanta Mariana to a Saxon prince.

1861.

The Duke of Loulé was now chief of the Masonic body in Portugal, and it tried its power to reinstate him as Prime Minister. It was arranged to get together some 14,000 persons in the square of Dom Pedro on the 10th March, when the Masonic orator spoke of the brilliant and other qualities of Brother Loulé, and that he was the only man to save the country. The freemasons generally supported the appeal; but the popular voice was for Saldanha, and instead of going to Loulé's house, they went to that of Saldanha (also a Brother) to greet him on the occasion.

The King Dom Pedro V. opened the Industrial Exhibition at Oporto in August. The Infanta Antonia married Prince Leopold of Hohenzollern on the 12th September.

November 6th.—The Infante Dom Fernando died of typhus fever at the age of 15.

November 11th.—His Majesty Dom Pedro V. died of

heirs the hereditary sovereignty of Egypt. He was made K.C.B., &c. As M.P. for Marylebone he was prominent in attacks on naval abuses. The Tories called him "metropolitan, and decidedly middle-classish." In 1847 he received the command of the Channel Fleet, and on the breaking out of the war with Russia he was appointed to the command of the squadron in the Baltic. He thus retained 100,000 men to guard St. Petersburg. It was objected that the capture of Bomarsund had been accomplished with so little loss of life, and as he refused to bear the blame for the inefficiency which he maintained was caused by the Admiralty, he was dismissed from his command. In 1855 he was member for Southwark. The remainder of his life was passed in promoting the interests of seamen and naval measures.

the same disease in the palace of Necessidades, at the age of 24, having reigned eight years. He was universally beloved and his death deeply deplored. His funeral took place on the 16th. Few monarchs have had such demonstrations of popular affection and grief after their death. The royal body was accompanied to its last resting-place at S. Vicente, by deputations from all classes of the people.*

According to a Portuguese writer, he had a noble presence, rosy colour, blue eyes, nose regular, mouth a little large, and chestnut hair. He was a patron of the *Belles Lettres*, affable, kind, and of an excellent disposition, a liberal protector of education, a model of every virtue.

The principal writers in this reign were Da Costa Silva, Visconde D'Almeida Garrett,† Visconde de Santarem, and F. J. Bingre, called the Swan of Vouga.

* "In Lisbon and its environs the most common disorders are apoplexies, ulcers in the limbs, often of a spontaneous character, paralysis, bastard gout, liver complaints, and diseases of the chest. In winter, malignant catarrhal fevers are very common; in summer, acute fevers and obstinate colds, and other affections, resulting from the checks given to perspiration by sudden changes of temperature."—Bradshaw's Handbook of Spain and Portugal, by Dr. Charnock, 1865, p. 146.

† His address to Cintra commencing with "O Cintra, O saudisissimo retiro," is very beautiful.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE REIGN OF DOM LUIZ I.

Dom Fernando Regent in the absence of the King—Ceremony of taking the oaths—Approaching death of the Infante Dom João—The people in their grief escort the King to the palace of Caixas—Dom João dies of typhus—Riots; the people suppose the late King and his two brothers have been poisoned—Loulé, premier—French Sisters of Charity and Lazarist Fathers sent away—Marriage of the King to the Princess Pia, daughter of the King of Italy, the rejoicings; play of "Egas Moniz"—Dom Miguel at the Exhibition in London—Great Fire in Lisbon—King and Queen go to Oporto—Duke of Palmella dies—Frontier Treaty concluded with Spain—'Niagara' and 'Sacramento' fired at going out after the Confederate ship 'Stonewall'—Inauguration of Dom Pedro IV.'s equestrian statue at Oporto—The Spanish General Prim has to retreat into Portugal—Reign of Terror in Madrid—Death of Dom Miguel in Germany—Queen and King-Consort of Spain visit Lisbon—Troubles in Oporto on taxing provisions—Abolition of punishment of death—Inauguration of monument to Camoens in Lisbon—Saldanha's literary labours—General Prim has to leave Portugal, goes to England—Statistics for 1868, Debts 44 millions sterling—Dom Fernando wanted for the Spanish throne—No Iberian Union—Revolution in Spain in September, 1868—State of finances—National debt—Government defeated in the Chamber of Deputies—Saldanha (ambassador in Rome) sent for—New Cortes to be summoned—Saldanha ambassador to Paris—Royal family give up a portion of civil list—Seditious proclamations for an Iberian Republic—Religious intolerance in Oporto—Portuguese Absoluto fanaticism in Rome—General elections—Reduction of number of Deputies—Dom Fernando will not accept the Spanish crown—Finances demand most serious attention—Loans—Expedition leaves for Mozambique—Heavy taxes proposed—Ruinous loans—Duty of a Finance Minister—Wars and taxation—Morganatic Marriage of Dom Fernando—The Queen, ill, leaves for France and Italy—New Ministry—French Minister opposed to the residence in Lisbon of the Duke of Montpensier.

1861.

Dom Luiz I., the brother of Dom Pedro V., was born on the 31st October, 1838. His father, Dom Fernando, was Regent until the 13th December, in consequence of Dom Luiz' absence from Portugal.

The following is the account of the ceremony of the King taking the oaths of fealty to the nation :—

His Majesty left the palace of Belem on the 22nd at 10 a.m., in the following order :—Two lancers, a picket of lancers, two passavantes (officers after the king-at-arms), six heralds, or kings-at-arms; then eight carriages ;—in the 1st, royal attendants; 2nd, fidalgos; 3rd, aides-de-camp; 4th, fidalgos of the royal household; 5th, the Marquis de Ficalho; 6th, the Constable, Marquis de Loulé, Visconde da Carreira, Conde da Ponte; 7th, O coche de respeito—carriage of respect. In the 8th carriage went the Senhor Dom Luiz, *de manto real e chapeo armado.*

The troops lined the way. His Majesty went to the palace of the Cortes and took the oaths; then to the church of S. Justa, where a *Te Deum* was performed; then to the Pavilion erected in the Praça do Commercio, where he received the municipality and the keys of the city. There were enthusiastic cheers, and the troops defiled before the King, the ceremony concluding at half-past 3 p.m.

At the approaching death of the Infante, Dom João, the Camara sent a deputation to the King on Christmas-day, to implore him to quit the palace, in the hope of preserving his life; and how touching to him and to his father was the sight of thousands upon thousands accompanying him in the dead of night, with lighted torches, to see him in safety in the palace of Caixas. Never did city witness such lamentation and woe and mourning as did Lisbon on that

night of the 25th of December, 1861, when it was but too truly believed that Dom João's days were numbered. He died on the 27th December of typhus.

The death * of the late King and his two brothers gave rise to reports of the most painful character, and to the suspicion that, during an excursion to Alemtejo, the late King and the Infante João had been poisoned; whereas, in truth, they were attacked by fevers peculiar to the marshy grounds they had visited after the autumnal rains. So great a fatality is unexampled in a Royal family in modern times. The Royal family of Portugal lived united in its affections, and offered none of those spectacles of contention so frequently presented in the history of the earth's rulers.

The people of Lisbon were alarmed by these deaths; they rushed to the conclusion that they were the result of poisoning. Hence the riots, demands for the exhumation of the body of the King, and attacks upon the druggists' shops which ensued. That the people were thus excited by these calamities is a proof how popular the ruling family in Portugal had become.

1862.

On the 3rd January the law of succession was altered in favour of the King's sisters, in the event of his and his brother Augusto dying without issue. On the 21st February the Duke of Loulé was premier. In May the French sisters of charity were sent away, as well as the Lazarist Fathers—stepping-stones for the re-introduction most probably of the Jesuits,† in the event of which

* See Dr. Charnock's "Bradshaw's Spain and Portugal."

† The order founded by the Spaniard Loyola, confirmed by Papal bull, 1540. In 1554 condemned by the Sorbonne. Expelled from

another Pombal would have been required. The Duke of Saldanha went as ambassador to Rome to keep things quiet. (He remained until the beginning of 1869, when he was suddenly recalled to form a Ministry in Portugal. He then went as ambassador to France.)

On the 28th July the foundation-stone was laid in Lisbon for the monument to Camoens.

The marriage of the King Dom Luiz I. with the Princess Maria Pia daughter of Victor Emmanuel, King of Italy, was celebrated by procuration in Turin on the 28th September, in person on the 6th October.

The fleet that escorted her Majesty arrived at Lisbon on the 5th October. Dom Luiz left the Ajuda Palace at 9 a.m. on the 6th, arriving at the Terreiro do Paço at 11.30 a.m. The Queen landed at 1 p.m. Their Majesties went to the church of S. Domingo, where the marriage ceremony took place at 2 p.m. They returned to the Pavilion at 4.30, and the review of the troops lasted till 6 o'clock.

On the 7th their Majesties went to the theatre of Donna Maria II., when was represented for the first time the historical play of *Egas Moniz*.* On the 8th they went to

England 1604; Venice, 1606; Portugal 1759; France, 1764; from Spain, 1767; suppressed by Clement XIV., 1773; restored by Pius VII., in 1804; and since tolerated in other States, and even where not tolerated, the body, as now even in England, has some public and private existence. The order, or rather disorder, requires Pombalising again.

* When the city of Guimarens was besieged in 1127 by Affonso VII. of Leon, the partizans of Affonso Henriques, finding themselves unable to resist, declared in the name of their youthful sovereign that he should acknowledge himself a vassal of the crown of Leon. Egas Moniz, one of the most powerful of the Portuguese Barons, pledged himself for the fulfilment of this treaty. Affonso Henriquez *forgot* to redeem the pledge. Followed by his wife and children, Egas Moniz went with bare feet and a

the opera of S. Carlos, when *Ernani* was represented. On the 9th was the Drawing Room, and in the evening, Parade in the Campo Pequeno. There were great festivities, and more than 200,000 persons came from various parts of the kingdom.

General election; the majority in favour of the Government.

Portugal sent to the International Exhibition in London no less than 1365 specimens of natural products and manufactures.

Dom Miguel came to the International Exhibition, and appeared to have given up all hope of going back to Portugal. He had now several children.*

EXPORTS OF PORT WINE TO ENGLAND.

	Per Pipe.	Duty.	Pipes.
1862 ...	£40 to £80 ...	£14 ...	24,832
184 ...	24 to 25 ...	33 ...	23.205
1825 ...	36 to 45 ...	28 ...	40,322
1810 ...	32 to 34 ...	52 ...	54,720
1804 ...	32 to 34 ...	52 ...	19,698
1787 ...	16 to 18 ...	18 ...	32,174

Exclusive of the Lisbon, Bucellas, and Calcavello wines.—(T. G. Shaw.)

halter round his neck to the court of Leon, professing that he came to atone by his death for the violation of the oath (See "Lusiad," Canto iii.) The King, struck by so singular an instance of fidelity, allowed him to depart uninjured. If a Portuguese inn boasts any picture at all, one of them is sure to be the "Surrender of Egas Moniz."

* It is reported that he had his children born on "Portuguese ground,' strewing the floor under his bed, and cradle which first received them, and the pavement under the font in the chapel, with earth conveyed from Portugal; that Senhor Manoel Duarte d'Oliveira Guimaraes, and Senhor Jozé Bento Pestana of Oporto, were the principal persons who had a box of Portuguese soil conveyed to Dom Miguel in Germany.

1863.

The Prince Royal, Charles Ferdinand, Duke of Braganza and Oporto, born 28th September. Great fire on the 19th November; the Bank, Municipal Camara, and House of the Company of "Fidelidade" destroyed.

The King and Queen went to Oporto on the 19th December.

1864.

January.—Ministerial changes. On the 2nd April the celebrated statesman the Duke of Palmella died. He was born in 1781. He represented his country at the Congress of Vienna. To his aid and counsels Donna Maria II., was much indebted for her throne. There were four great defenders of liberty in Portugal—Palmella, as a statesman; Saldanha, Terceira, and Napier as warriors. *June* 1*st.*—Free-trade measures introduced. Frontier treaty concluded with Spain on the 29th September.

1865.

On the 7th April the United States vessels 'Niagara' and 'Sacramento' entered the Tagus. They were fired upon, through suspicion of their sailing after the Confederate vessel 'Stonewall' on the 27th March; the "difficulty" was arranged on the 7th of April.

The Infante Affonso was born on the 31st July. New Ministry formed, Aguiar premier, 4th September. International Exhibition at Oporto opened by the King, 18th September. The King visited England, France, and Germany in December.

1866.

October 18*th.*—Their Majesties inaugurated the statue to Dom Pedro at Oporto; it cost £15,000.*

* "Calmels, A.C., of Paris—Equestrian statue of His Majesty Dom

In consequence of Saldanha's absence from the ceremony, Senhor Coelho wrote to ask the reason. Saldanha replied on the 22nd October from Cintra (see "Extraits," p. 92)—"You ask me why I was not present at the inauguration that took place three days since at Oporto? I have the honour of being Grand Master of the court. Well, on the Queen's birthday, whilst I was talking with the Marquis de Sá, the King came to *him:* 'To-morrow at midnight,' he said, 'we go to Oporto; *ne vous faites pas attendre.*' As his Majesty did not address me, *ma delicatesse, par consequent*, did not permit me to accept the invitation I had received from the Municipal Chamber."

Saldanha ends this letter thus: "I have had the Divine protection during twenty-two years of war. I can say with Desaix, after the battle of Marengo: '*J'ai assez fait pour la posterité!*' Putting aside the glories of this world, within a month I shall be in my 76th year, 62 of which have been consecrated to the service of my country and my sovereign."

Portugal was tranquil. Spain, its neighbour, was in the throes of military insurrections, mainly headed by General Prim, who had to retreat to Portugal. There was a ministerial reign of terror in Madrid.

Dom Miguel, so long (since 1834) the Pretender to the Portuguese throne, died on the 14th November, 1866, at Brombach, near Wertheim, in Germany, of apoplexy, in his 64th year.

Pedro IV. (plaster) cast in bronze for the Plaza of Dom Pedro in Oporto. The King is mounted on a horse of the Alter breed and wears the historical costume in which he disembarked at Mindello, July 9th, 1832. Among other busts M.C. has one of Dom Pedro, to be placed in the "Salle des Souveraines" at the Hotel de Ville, Paris."—*Paris Exhibition Catalogue.*

Dom Miguel's Children.—1, Maria das Neves, born 5th August, 1852; 2, Miguel, 19th September, 1853; 3, Maria Theresa, 24th August, 1855; 4, Maria Josepha, 19th March, 1857; 5, Aldegonde, 10th November, 1858; 6, Marie-Anne, 13th July, 1861; 7, Marie Antoine, 28th November, 1862.*

In the earliest period of his (Dom Miguel's) wanderings he was heard of in Italy at the courts of Rome, Frances IV. of Modena, and Charles Albert of Sardinia; the latter was supposed at one time to harbour some vague designs of striking a blow in behalf of Dom Miguel. The Liberal movement of 1847, initiated by Pius IX. and Charles Albert, probably disgusted the Portuguese Absolutist with Rome and Italy, and he sought relaxation at various places of resort in the neighbourhood of Frankfort, where, in 1851, at the age of 50, he married.

The Portuguese papers, particularly those of Braga, of November and December in the year of Dom Miguel's death, had many touching articles about him as a Portuguese prince, and deplored that his remains should continue in a foreign land. Condolence was offered to his widow and children. On the 21st November a requiem mass was celebrated for the repose of his soul in the Remedios church at Braga. Similar celebrations took place in Brazil.

The Queen and King-Consort of Spain paid a return visit to their Majesties of Portugal at Lisbon on the 11th December.

1867.

March 25.—Conclusion of postal treaty with Spain.

* In the "Almanack de Gotha" for 1869, will be found these names, as children of Dom Miguel.

April.—Troubles at Oporto occasioned by the Government wishing to tax articles of consumption. *June* 21.—Abolition of punishment of death.

Portugal contributed to the Universal Exhibition in Paris nearly 1000 specimens of products and manufactures, exhibiting in 45 classes.

The Duke of Palmella, Lord Canning, Viscount Santarem, and other personages had essayed to have erected a monument to the Homer of Lusitania. At last the Duke of Saldanha succeeded. On the 9th October the ceremony of unveiling took place in Lisbon. It was a national fête; the King, his father, Dom Fernando, the Court, representatives from all the great bodies of the State, and an enthusiastic populace were present. The statue of Camoens is of bronze, of colossal proportions. There are eight marble statues and other accessories. It is one of the finest monuments in Lisbon.*

The compiler of the "Extraits" says: "What have been the great points in Saldanha's life? Love for his fellow-creatures, for the reign of liberty, the development of intelligence, material progress, and the independence of his country."—Memorandum of Saldanha's literary labours.

In 1859 he wrote an elaborate paper on the "State of Medicine;" in 1863, "Concordance of Natural Sciences," at Rome;" "Observations on Homœopathy," 1864; "The Birth of Rome," 1865; "More extended Observations on Homœopathy," Rome; "On Civil Marriage," Lisbon.

* The "Lusiad" is the name of the celebrated epic poem written by Camoens on the establishment of the Portuguese in India. The title which he gave it, "Os Lusiados"—the Lusitanians—denotes the true motive of its subject. Luiz de Camoens, the Homer and Virgil of Portugal, was born in Lisbon, although Coimbra and Santarem have disputed the honour. He was born in 1517 or 1524; died 10th June, 1580.

Recently he wrote "The Catholic Warrior at the Tomb of St. Peter," a fine historical composition; "The Attente Universelle," in four parts; "L'Antiquité n'a pas realisé Dieu et Homme—L'Ideal—Jesus-Christ de la Foi."

1868.

January 5th.—New Ministry under the Conde d'Avila. General Prim, not having succeeded in his military insurrection against the Spanish crown, fled to Portugal on the 20th January. He had to depart on the 17th February for England.

In the ministry of July 1868, Marquis Sá da Bandeira was President of the Council and Minister of War; Interior, A. A. Martins, Bishop of Vizeu; Justice and Religion, Andrade; Finance, C. Bento da Silva, and *ad interim* for Foreign Affairs; Marine and Colonies, J. M. Latino Coelho; Public Works, Commerce, and Industry, S. Lopez Calheiros; the Patriarch, Cardinal E. B. Rodriguez; Grand Armurier, Conde de Mesquetella; Captain of the Guards, Duke of Palmella; Grand Cupbearer, Conde Penamacor; Grand Huissier (Merinho Mor), Conde de Sabugal; Grand Chamberlain, Conde de Carreira; Grand Hussier (Portero Mor or Grand Usher), Conde de Belmonte; Reposteiro Mor, Marquis de Costello Melhor; Grand Carver, ——.

The King had five chamberlains, ten aides-de-camp, and one secretary.

The Queen, Dom Fernando, and the Infanta Maria had their households.

Population: Continent and Islands, in 1861, 4,035,330; 1863, 4,350,216. Colonies, 10,881,022. Population of Lisbon, 223,064; Oporto, 89,194.

Finances: Receipts, in milreis (the milrei=54d.), 16,910,137; expenditure, 22,831,941. Receipts of Colonies, 1,275,258; expenditure, 1,434,537. Total debt in 1866, 196,562,673; 1867, 220,986,202, equal to nearly 49 millions sterling.

Army: Officers	In peace 1512;	in war 2408
Men	,, 30,128	,, 68,450
Cavalry	,, 3128	,, 6428
Guns	,, 36	,, 90
Colonies: Troops	,, 9453	,, 21,411

Navy: One, 74 guns; one, 50; three corvettes, 40; one brig, 12; eight schooners and cutters, 18; five yachts, 5; two chaloupes-canon, 2; four transports of 6.

Steamers: Seven corvettes, 97 guns; seven steamers, 31 guns; six gunboats, 19 guns. In all 26 armed ships, 19 not armed; or 45 ships, with 355 guns.

Commerce: 1865, imports 24,820,000 millions of milreis; exports, 22,130,000. 1866, imports, 26,530,000; exports, 19,194,000. Excess of imports over exports, 7,340,000=£1,550,500.

Shipping: Portuguese, 5490; foreigners, 5258.

November.—The Spanish crown, it was alleged, had been offered to Dom Fernando. He is tall, erect, and of commanding mien; has a good-natured look, a familiar smile, and a polite bow for everybody; so that when he walks down the Chiado all hats are off, as if put in motion by one spring, and the affectionate words '*O nosso Dom Fernando*' are in everybody's mouth when referring to him. His love for the arts of every branch, from the highest to the very humblest, is well-known. He is a remarkable painter and sculptor, a skilful carpenter, and might give lessons to many a locksmith. One of his great delights is to enter a workshop, install himself on any stool at hand, light his havannah, and watch the men at their work. Generous to a fault, his money may well be said to be not his own. His revenues often come short, and he makes no secret of it. Many a time, when a picture, an engraving, an antique piece of jewellery, a collection of coins, or a rare edition of some curious work is presented to him for purchase, King Ferdinand has to exclaim with a sigh, and a half-comic and half-melancholy air, 'Alas, I have no money!' and let the much-desired treasure go unbought. Affairs and cares of State are to him an intolerable burden, and although he was the very guardian angel of the well-remembered and lamented King Dom Pedro V., and was wont to give him advice the results of which fully proved his political tact and high qualifications for ruling a nation, yet, as much as he could help, and when he was not strictly wanted, he kept aloof from public affairs, and led the life he most delights in—that of a private gentleman, an enthusiastic cultivator of art, and a liberal patron."

December 1*st.*—On the occasion of the celebration of the anniversary of the expulsion of the Spaniards in 1640, there was a great public demonstration against the formation of an Iberian union.

The idea of the conquest of Portugal by Spain, since the period of the expulsion of the Spaniards in 1640, headed by the Braganza family, had doubtless passed through the minds of some of the Spanish Governments. The popula-

tion of Portugal was small compared to that of Spain—not one fourth; but the former would be most energetically united on the question of defence against an old enemy, whilst the latter is in every way a divided country. Then England would have something to say in favour of its "old ally," and could always assist it with a fleet.

Napoleon forced Spain to enter into a treaty of partition of Portugal with him; Godoy was to have had a principality or a kingdom in the south!

After the death of John VI. of Portugal in 1826, Dom Pedro, his son, the Emperor of Brazil (whose mother, Carlota Joaquina, was a Spanish Princess) "had a project laid before him of uniting Portugal and Andalucia into an Iberian Republic or Empire." Liberal Spain was tired and disgusted with Ferdinand VII.

Had Dom Pedro lived he might have been offered the throne of Spain, and, had he accepted it, would have ruled under Constitutional principles.* Such an arrangement might have saved Spain from years of bloodshed. Don Carlos' party would have been easily put down by the active alliance of Liberal England, France, and Portugal.

Spain would have had no objection to possess Portugal, with her splendid sea-board on the Atlantic added to

* Shaw ("Memoirs" i., p. 302) writing of affairs, 1832, alludes to the subject of "Sovereigns sent on their travels for improvement." First, Dom Pedro was on his travels from Brazil; Charles X. had returned to visit Holyrood House; the Prince of Orange had been forced to leave Brussels, and the Duke of Brunswick had to give way to a younger brother; the Dey of Algiers had left Africa for Europe; the Archduke Constantine did not disdain to quit Warsaw. Many were also in doubt whether on the downfall of Dom Miguel Dom Pedro was to be King, or Donna Maria the Queen of Portugal. It was known that a plan had been formed to dethrone Ferdinand, and make Dom Pedro Emperor of the Peninsula, with his daughter on the throne of Portugal, as a sort of fief.

her ; but Portugal would not agree to this arrangement for many reasons. Portugal is perfectly satisfied with its own political position, and does not want an Iberian Union. The majority of the Portuguese do not admire that the Spanish crown should be offered to their Dom Fernando ; but there are a few Portuguese *politicos* and *diplomaticos* who think that Dom Fernando should not refuse the offer, and that at his death the two kingdoms might be fused into one, as an Iberian Empire, an eventuality which the Portuguese nation would have the greatest difficulty in agreeing to. In this case union would not be power ; it would be a fearful disunion.

Revolution in Spain, September, 1868.

Spain under Isabella II. had nominally a Constitutional Government, but, in reality, was governed by military factions upholding the Crown ; in later times, by the stern Narvaez, the Royalist O'Donnell, and popular Prim. The latter, who desired to effect radical changes and punish his political persecutors, rose against the Court. He did not succeed, and fled to Portugal in January, 1867, but, at the request of Isabella II., had to leave. He went to England, where he busied himself in conspiring against the Queen of Spain and her surrounding. Changes of Ministry took place in Madrid, one more despotic than another. The proverbial Spanish loyalty to the Crown was at last shattered under the Ministry of Gonzales Bravo ; even the Queen's sister, her husband (Montpensier) and family were ordered out of the country, going to Lisbon. Now then commenced without reserve the grand conspiracy of Generals Prim and Serrano and Admiral Topete ; their civilian friend

being Olozaga, the Duke of Montpensier assisting with a goodly sum of money.

Isabella II. must have been for some time preparing for a great change, and had sent very considerable funds out of the country. The Queen, her children, the King-Consort, her favourite Mafori, Padre Claret, went to the sea-side in the north—the nun Patrocino was in communication with them. The Queen evidently prepared for the worst.* The so-called Revolution soon showed itself in Madrid, which Serrano called the glorious September "alzamiento"—rising of the nation. Topete, in command of the navy, made Cadiz his head-quarters. Prim soon left England for Cadiz. "Down with the Bourbons" was the cry of the army, navy, and republicans; so down they went, and Isabella emigrated at once to France. She was soon requested not to reside near to the frontier, so took up her quarters in Paris. Old Don Carlos' grandson, called by his party Carlos VII., was also there intriguing against the new order of things in Spain. The Montpensiers, who were "Borbonescos," were told to remain out of the country. The greater part of the army and nacionales were with Serrano. The populace of Madrid and other places were armed; they got excited and came eagerly to the call of "Viva la Republica!" They went against a small body of Isabelino troops under General Novaliches at Acolea and beat them. The change of scene was complete, "Mueren los Borbones!" "Viva la

* Talleyrand said that the great French Revolution had *désossé* (disboned) France. On the return to Spain of Ferdinand VII. from his six years' imprisonment in France in 1814 to the period of his death in 1833, his reign was a bitter despotism. Then followed to 1867 the "masse écrasante de contradictions inexplicables" under the Constitutional Government of the regency of Christina and reign of Isabella II., which *disboned* loyalty to the Bourbon Crown in Spain.

España!" "Viva la Republica!" However, the triumvirs, Serrano, Prim, and Topete, as to "Republica," said "Veremos" ("Wait a bit"). Let us call together the Cortes to decide whether it is to be a republic or a monarchy—we think a monarchy would suit Spain best.

Who was to be the Constitutional King of Spain? To whom was the crown to be offered who had no Bourbon blood in his body? There was Dom Fernando of Portugal, Prince Alfred of England, Prince Napoleon, Prince Carignan, Duke of Aosta, some German Prince; then they looked at home—Espartero as Baldomero I., Serrano as Francisco I., Prim as Juan I., &c., &c.* There was, however, a small but very excitable Republican party, and when they saw that the change they had assisted to make veered for monarchy and the military chiefs, they had a sanguinary affair at Cadiz, and another at Malaga, which were suppressed. The military chiefs in Madrid issued orders for the election of deputies to form a new Constitution—to decide for Monarchy or Republic. Monarchy would have the choice, unless the Republican party

* The *Democratic Review* of June 2nd, 1869, maintains that Prussian money has played and plays its part in affairs at Madrid, and that some Prussian prince (its nominee) will be chosen for King, so that Spain may be the means of convulsing France and Europe. The *Review* also observes: The Revolution was made by a knot of naval and military conspirators; the ground upon which it was sanctioned and accepted was not their private ends, but the following:—"Soldiers, the Republic will deliver to you immediately your definitive discharge; you can say in embracing your mothers, 'You will no longer have to weep for your sons drawn from you, for henceforth they will remain to work for you. . . . It is only by means of the Republic that your enormous taxes can be diminished." (?) Still in May, the following year, nine months afterwards, the Minister of Finance gave in his Budget, showing a deficit of nine millions sterling! However, the military "alzamiento" has given Spain a Liberal Constitution, providing for freedom of speech, freedom of worship, and monarchy as a basis.

were strong enough to get up a sanguinary revolution, when the Isabelinos under ——, and the Carlists under Cabrera would make an attempt to uphold their respective standards. Parties now stood thus: 1st, Serrano and Co., for a Constitutional Monarchy; 2nd, a Republic, headed by Figueras, Castellar, and Co.; 3rd, Isabelinos; 4th, Carlists. However, let us hope that Spain is not quite "boneless," and will show that it is not an advanced part of Africa, or, as Katinka, in "Don Juan," says, "an island 'twixt Morocco and Tangier."

1869.

JANUARY *3rd*.—The King opened the Chambers. Energetic measures had been taken to retrieve the disasters at Mozambique, which befell an exploring force in the interior. The state of the finances was very grave; diminution of expenditure was most necessary. For ten years past, Portugal had been spending £4,500,000 a year, with an income of £3,500,000. The deficit in 1866-7 was £1,117,482; in 1868, £1,298,596. Portugal had not had a budget without a deficit for the last thirty-five years. The expenditure had risen every year during that period; the revenue had been stationary. The public debt had increased from £20,000,000 in 1854, to over £50,000,000 in 1867-8. It was no use having Mr. Lowe's "cultured contempt" for the "insoluble," and for such a national debt.

The election of a President of the Chamber of Deputies resulted in a defeat for the Government, which tendered its resignation.

The Duke of Saldanha, then envoy in Rome, was summoned to Lisbon to form a new ministry. The Duke despatched a telegram to the King, in which he declined

the task of forming a new ministry, on the ground of the impossibility of organising a cabinet which should satisfy both the King and the people. The King sent for the Marquis Sá da Bandeira, and charged him to continue with the present ministry. 24th. The Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and new Cortes to be summoned.

The Duke of Saldanha was appointed ambassador to France.

Towards the end of January, the King wrote the following to Sá da Bandeira, his prime minister :—"The late administrative crisis being at an end, and while we are still occupied with the financial question, I hasten to acquaint you that the Queen, myself, and my son are desirous to be the first to contribute as much as is in our power to diminish the heavy burdens of the treasury. The Queen proposes to cede the tenth part of our annual civil lists during the next financial year. I assure you that in whatever circumstances the country may be, it will find me and the Royal family always ready to perform our share in bearing the burdens of the State.

(Signed) "LUIZ."

In February it was a question with a party in Spain to invite Dom Fernando to accept the Spanish crown, which was not at all popular in Portugal. Seditious proclamations were secretly circulated in Portugal in favour of an Iberian Republic; the Portuguese press strongly condemned the revived idea of an Iberian Union.

Religious Intolerance in Portugal.—J. W. Cassells, of St. John's College, Cambridge, under date February 8th, wrote to the *Daily News*, in regard to the trial and condemnation of his brother James, of Oporto :—

"The crime which my brother has committed is that of holding religious meetings—to which the Portuguese were admitted—on his own premises. The laws of Portugal and the treaty of Lisbon with England,

July 3rd, 1842, prove that these meetings are not illegal. Moreover, the Government permits similar evangelical meetings to be held in Lisbon. The injustice of the law proceedings on the 23rd November, 1868, was due to the influence of the hierarchy. The suit has been carried to a higher court, and it is not improbable that the influence of the priests will again intercept justice, and, when the final court of appeal has pronounced judgment, the sentence of six years' 'deportation' from the country will be carried into effect."

This was brought at once before the British House of Commons. Mr. Otway replied that "the result of the appeal was not known; that the interests of Mr. Cassells had been watched over by Mr. Crawford, the British Consul at Oporto, who had instructed a counsel to attend; and her Majesty's minister at Lisbon had also been written to, to request the Portuguese Government that no delay should take place in having the appeal heard."

Upon this followed a bigoted episode in Rome. An Austrian noble, accompanied by some 200 followers, presented an address to the Pope, containing the usual expressions of attachment to the Holy Father. The Pope told the company that he prayed to the patron saints of their different countries to preserve them in peace, &c.; at this point a Portuguese (he must have been an old Absoluto) threw himself at the feet of the Holy Father, and, in the name of the true Catholics of Portugal, implored pardon for all the evil produced by the "perverted faction" which had seized on the government of that country. The Pope sought to calm and console this fanatic, saying that the present movement in that Peninsula would soon expend itself, when the Church of Lusitania, now under occultation, would recover its ascendancy, and the enemies of Catholicity there be covered with confusion. This speech gave great offence to many of the Portuguese, and was very ill taken at the embassy, where they expressed astonishment that the Holy Father, without any provocation, should apply such language to the Government of Her Most Faithful Majesty.

History bears broadly stamped in every age the baselessness of Absolutism and Bigotry, which is without honest root in the conscience of many Governments.*

* A Member of the French Institute on the Influence of the Daily Press:—"The daily press, which disturbs all silence and profanes all solitude, takes from each man every morning the best moments of his life, so that during that hour passion, deception, idle talk, useless facts, vain fears, and imposing hopes are poured into his mind, and so occupy

March 11*th.*—General elections to take place on the 15th April. There were to be fewer deputies, 107 instead of 179; this was not considered to be a Constitutional proceeding, and caused discontent.

April 12*th.*—The elections were in favour of the Government. Rumoured that the Marquis Sá da Bandeira intended tendering his resignation, owing to the bad impression made by the Government telegram communicating to Madrid the refusal of Dom Fernando to accept the Crown.

16*th.*—New loan proposed with Messrs. Frühling and Goschen. 17th.—Mutiny among the soldiers of the expedition going to Mozambique, stationed at Mafra. Troops sent to suppress the tumult. 26th.—The King opened the Cortes. His Majesty said the state of the finances demanded serious attention, since the continued excess of expenditure over revenue was a source of great anxiety, and that efficacious measures for the payment of the floating debt, for the reduction of the deficit, and for a just distribution of the burthens arising from taxation would be introduced by the Government.

The $3\frac{1}{2}$ per Cents. of 1853-6-7-9, 1862 and 1863, nominally, £30,000,000, at 37, pay 8 per cent.

The 3 per Cents. New of 1867 issued at $38\frac{1}{2}$, convertible until 1870 into interest stock, £5,500,000, at 37, pay 8 per cent.

May 4*th.*—Mr. James Cassells wrote to his friends in

and defile it for the rest of the day (!)—a day created for wisdom and virtue."—*Les Sources*, by the Abbé Graty.

See *Temple Bar*, June, 1869, "Protestant Progress in Spain," containing an account by the arch-bigot of Spain, Cardinal Cuesta, Archbishop of Santiago, on the "Immorality of Protestantism," and the "devilish heresies of Luther," &c.

England as follows:—"The judges of the Court of Relacão, Oporto, gave judgment in my case on the 8th instant. They annulled the sentence passed on me, but instead of leaving me free, they have ordered the case to be tried over again by the criminal court."*

8th.—Attempt to foment a military revolt in Lisbon; it failed.

The British steamer "Borneo," with troops for the Mozambique expedition, left on the 11th.†

12th.—Ministerial reply to the speech from the throne was voted unanimously by the Chamber of Deputies.

22nd.—The proposed financial measures of the Ministry caused great agitation throughout the country. They were: a new arrangement of the property-tax, calculated to yield £400,000; a tax of 10 per cent. upon net profits of all banking and public companies; directors and employés to pay 10 per cent. on their incomes; 8 per cent. on net profits of all manufacturing establishments; taxes on persons in business to be increased; customs

* Mr. Hammond, of our Foreign Office, wrote to the Scottish Reformation Society, 22nd June, that the "trial of Mr. James Cassells has terminated, and that gentleman is acquitted." Public opinion protested against the persecution of Mr. Cassells. The present Government was expected to alter the articles of the Penal Code referring to religious liberty, and thus secure to the non-Roman Catholic Portuguese that liberty which, with the exception of the Roman, all European States at the present time enjoy.

† At page 470 "disasters" are alluded to at Mozambique. In "A Cruise of the 'Gorgon,'" engaged in the suppression of the slave trade in the east of Africa, when speaking of the Straits of Mozambique, is the following:—"A slave emerges from the sea; he is a runaway, and must have swum two miles; his name is put on our books. During the day we have another case of the kind. There are 45,000 slaves bought and sold on the east coast yearly; for every one captured, about *five* are killed in this slave-making war."

duties altered, and rates increased; the same on stamps, &c.

The Finance Minister should rather have proposed a very great reduction in the army (30,000), navy, government employés, &c.

The *Times* correspondent at Madrid, of 22nd May, observed in regard to Spanish finance, also applicable to Portuguese :—"Allow a financier to impose as many and as heavy taxes as the people could and should bear, allow him to curtail all expenses to such limits as common prudence suggests, and we shall have no more ruinous loans."*

It is not owing to the wickedness, but the weakness, of their Governments that the Latin countries are indebted to the disordered state of their finances.

What was wanted was a steward sufficiently strong to enforce his will (as Pombal did in Portugal; he left £8,000,000 in the treasury when he was dismissed), to limit the extravagances of the nation and its rulers.

WARS AND TAXATION.

A few words on Governmental, Dynastic, and People's Wars, causing ruinous taxation. The great wars against Napoleon, according to one

* There were in some cases repeated loans, affording huge commissions to those connected in "bringing them out." Xenos Stephanos, in his work (1869) "Depredations, or Overend, Gurney, & Co., and the Greek and Oriental Steam Company," treats rather lucidly on late financial management in England. With regard to loans he observes: "A mania had seized England of making loans to foreign countries, particularly to Governments that paid large dividends by the *ingenious device* of getting a large loan." Long ago we had *repudiation* in the United States, *forcible* conversion in Spain and Portugal; June, 1839, *enforced* conversion in Austria. A little more of such kinds of conversion will put a stop to the *mania* of English capitalists for lending to foreign Governments. The Finance Minister of Ecuador enunciates the doctrine "that inability to comply with the conditions of a contract cancels the obligation to fulfil it!"

account, cost England 1150 millions sterling; another estimate says, from 1803 to 1815, 420 millions were added to the capital of the debt, which then amounted to 885 millions, the annual charge being 32 millions.

The Continental nations, who had combined to protect themselves and oppose the Corsican, had submitted to extraordinary conscriptions and taxations. They had been promised by their military Governments freer forms of rule when the war was over. These promises, due to unsparing patriotism and the character of the times, were not kept. Unholy alliances were made (which England kept out of), and Absolutism sustained, requiring those costly luxuries, large standing armies; Metternich being the principal arch-perpetrator.

As regards England, Pitt, in 1782, asked the House of Commons for Reform. He lost it by a majority of 20, and it was only in 1832, after years of very up-hill fighting on the part of the Liberals, that the Reform Bill passed.

Turn we to the Continent. To the debts contracted during the war was now to be added the cost of maintenance of legions of soldiers—non-producers to the State—in the support of Governments and dynasties.

Two great disturbing causes were now brought into action; the first, the desire of nations for Reform; the second, the desire of strong Governments to bear heavily on their people, and be ready to make war on smaller States.

The first act of retribution was in 1830, by the dethronement of the Absoluto Charles X. of France, who, in 1823, had assisted Ferdinand VII. of Spain with a large army to put down Liberalism, and which had the effect of persecuting the Liberals in Portugal.

The French revolution of 1830 was most favourable for Liberalism in Portugal, then ruled by the usurping despot Dom Miguel. Dom Pedro took possession of Oporto in 1832. He endured a long-suffering siege, when that bulwark of liberty in the west was rewarded by the overthrow of the Absolutos in 1834, and ultimately led, in 1840, after a long civil war (Carlist), to more Liberal institutions in Spain.

The upset of Charles X. made way for the citizen king, Louis Philippe, who wriggled on very curiously until 1848. He prepared for the advent of Louis Napoleon as President of a Republic, but who, in 1852, made himself Emperor. Napoleon for his own protection became a military ruler, requiring large armed forces, which much increased debt and taxation in France.*

* 1869.—The national debt of France under Imperialism has increased upwards of 200 millions sterling. The expenditure was 50 per cent. more than in Louis Philippe's time.

The French Republican Revolution of 1848 gave to continental governments and dynasties, large and small, a severe shaking. Those who were weak still promised Reform to their people; those who were strong increased their number of bayonets.

The Pope, who had been induced to bend to Liberal views in 1848, did not carry them out, and was driven from Rome. Mazzini the political, and Garibaldi the great military leader of a people's war, held the "Eternal City" for a while, but had to retreat, and their forces were routed to a man by the troops of the Emperor of the French. Charles Albert of Sardinia commenced another people's war; he was not strong enough for Austria, and was beaten; he abdicated in favour of his son.

Russia thought in 1854 that at last the time had arrived to take possession of Constantinople; but the alliance of England and France prevented the fall of Turkey, and fearfully crippled Russia. It broke the heart of Nicholas.

1859.—The Emperor of the French, in person, assisted Victor Emmanuel against the Austrians in the battles of Magenta and Solferino, when Austria was beaten, and had to give up Lombardy.

Garibaldi, as if by magic, took Sicily, and shortly drove the bad Absoluto King of Naples from his throne, when Victor Emmanuel became King of Italy; another people's war. The Emperor of the French protected the Pope in Rome.

The rulers of Europe had become most extravagant in warlike doings, and had dragged their people with them; thus new loans and new taxes had to be imposed to pay war debts and support non-producing armies.* Now governments and dynasties were ready to war with each other; so Prussia in 1866, foreseeing that Austria would be engaged against Victor Emmanuel, who wanted Venice, pounced upon Austria and her allies, and after a "seven weeks' war," serious to both parties, Prussian "Eisen und Blut" conquered.†

* Spain, in June, 1869, had 80,000 as its standing army; the Republican party only wanted 40,000. Portugal, with one-fourth the population of Spain, had 30,000.

† After the last battle at Sadowa, Prussia annexed Hanover, Hesse-Cassel, Nassau, Hesse-Homburg, Frankfort, and the Duchies of Schleswig-Holstein, incorporating them as provinces; increasing her territory 30,000 square miles. The Saxonies, Mecklenburgs, the Free Cities, Oldenburg, Brunswick, and the lesser States were formed into a Confederation, under Prussian rule. Will all this become too much for the "heaven-born" Bismarck, who is narrowly watched by the Liberals?

We must not omit the very warlike extravagances of the United States, the North against the South, and terrible defeat and ruin of the latter.

Insular nation as England is, she requires a large navy; her army at home need not be of importance; but for the preservation of her possessions a goodly force is necessary. Still England has no *deficits*, although her expenditure is very great. In 1870 she showed £8,000,000 to credit.

Will peoples continue to submit to this warlike extravagance of their rulers? Will they again be dragged into governmental and dynastic wars, requiring so much money and so much taxation?

Disraeli, the Tory Premier, estimated the cost of the Abyssinian war at three and a half millions, then five millions, then six millions; however, it amounted to nine millions. Sir Stafford Northcote, the Tory Secretary for India, made the discovery "that war is always a very wasteful business." There was an ugliness about the financial aspect of the war.

June.—Dom Fernando married a foreign lady, named Haensler, who was created Condessa d'Edler.*

10*th.*—The Chamber of Deputies, after a protracted discussion, passed the bill for the loan contracted with Frühling and Goschen.† (Passed by a small majority in the Peers, 7th July.)

15*th.*—The Queen left Lisbon for Italy and France, for the benefit of her health. The Ministry resigned.

21*st.*—A new Ministry formed, under the Marquis de Sá, the Minister of the Interior being the Bishop of Vizeu. The Ministry determined to allow the Duke of Montpensier to reside in Portugal, although the French Minister opposed the policy.

* The lady is of German origin. She went to Portugal, about 1862, as a prima donna, and is spoken of as an amiable and talented woman.

† Went into the hands of Messrs. Stern Brothers.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Tax disturbances in the Azores; Vivas for the son of Dom Miguel—Increase of taxes in Portugal—The Queen returns to Portugal—Bandeira Ministry resign; claims of English shareholders in the South-Eastern Railway—Loulé Ministry—The King closes the Cortes; alludes to bad state of financial affairs; national debt over sixty millions sterling—Mines in Portugal—South-Eastern Railway bondholders oppose the bringing out of the loan—The King will not accept the Crown of Spain—South-Eastern Railway bondholders agree to arrangements; Messrs. Stern Brothers bring out a three per cent. loan of twelve millions sterling, at 32½ per cent.—Alvaro de Leite dies; leaves the widow of Dom Miguel a legacy—The Duke of Saldanha in Lisbon; requested to return to his post in Paris, he refuses, and resigns—Statistics—The family of the Brandões—Literature—1870. The King opens the Cortes—Ministerial resignations—Chamber dissolved; new elections in favour of the Government—Expedition to Macao and Timor to restore order—The King opens the Cortes; proposals to reform the House of Peers; the establishment of Ministerial responsibility; grave state of the finances—the Duke of Saldanha's return to office—Rejoicings on the defeat of Lopez in Paraguay by Brazilians—Inauguration of statue to Dom Pedro IV.

July.—The vine disease had appeared in some parts of the country. There were disturbances in the Azores, in consequence of the augmentation of taxes, and in some districts the tax papers had been burnt; *vivas* had been given for the son of Dom Miguel. The Deputies had voted an increase in the personal tax, and an increase of 50 per cent. in the industrial tax, which caused much discontent.

27*th.*—Cortes prorogued to 15th August.

31*st.*—Ministers of Finance and Justice resigned.

August 2*nd.*—Paraiva de Carvalho appointed Minister of Finance.

6*th.*—The corvette "Stephanie" went to Bordeaux for the Queen of Portugal.

11*th.*—The Bandeira Ministry resigned, mainly in regard to the settlement of the shareholders in the South-Eastern Railway, who for two years had endeavoured to come to some arrangement. A proposal agreed to which passed the Chamber of Deputies met with censure in the Peers, and the Government, which seemed to be on the eve of regaining a position in the European money market, was thrown back into discredit.

20*th.*—The Duke of Loulé Prime Minister; the Chamber of Deputies voted, by 39 against 3, the indemnity to the South-Eastern Railway.

25*th.*—The King closed the Cortes, observing that "the country is happily increasing those political liberties which are the bases of the representative system. The peculiar state of the finances is known, and requires to be remedied, in order to provide for the diminution of the difficulties of the Treasury, by retrenchment, simplifications of the public service, and by increasing the revenues in proportion to the pecuniary capabilities of the tax-payers, to re-establish public credit." (The public debt of Portugal was estimated to be over £60,000,000 sterling, about one half owing to England).

The British Legation made a report on the mining wealth of Portugal; there were 23 coal mines, 45 of iron, 98 copper, 20 tin, 66 lead and silver, 6 gold, 85 manganese, 6 antimony, 3 quicksilver, 3 asphalt, 1 sulphur iron pyrites, 1 phosphorite; of these 357 mines, 220 were in operation,

In 1867 the San Domingo copper mine produced 107,156 tons of ore, yielding £98,178. Nickel was found at Telhadella.

The Chamber of Deputies voted the disamortisation of the estates belonging to the clergy, the establishments of instruction, and the municipalities; these properties to be sold by auction, to be paid for in 3 per Cent. Bonds to be issued by the Treasury. A part of the proceeds to be given to the present possessors, in order to secure them a revenue, and the remainder to go to the State. The lowest estimate of the value of these lands was £4,800,000; under favourable circumstances the sum might be increased to £8,000,000.

September.—The bondholders of the South-Eastern Railway resolved to address an ultimatum in regard to their long out-standing claims, through Messrs. Stern Brothers* to the Portuguese Government, and took the necessary steps for preventing the issue of the Portuguese loan in the London market.

In regard to the desire of a party in Spain that Dom Luiz should become king of that country he replied: "I was born a Portuguese and will die a Portuguese."

November 3*rd*.—The greatest difficulty hitherto in the way for bringing out the loan was the adjustment of the claim of the South-Eastern Railway, which being accomplished, Messrs. Stern Brothers, of London, brought on the long-expected 3 per Cent. Loan for £12,000,000 sterling; one main object was to pay off the floating debt. The price was 32½ per cent., which would yield an interest of over 9 per cent. per annum. £6,000,000 sterling

* Subsequently, Mr. David Stern had the title of visconde conferred on him; to be continued to his immediate successor, Baron Hermann de Stern, the continuance of his title to his immediate successor.

of ecclesiastical property had been arranged to be sold, the proceeds to be invested in Government stock.

Alvaro Leite died. He left a large portion of his fortune to charitable institutions; also a considerable sum to the widow of Dom Miguel.

December 9th.—The Government having requested the Duke of Saldanha to return to his post as Minister in Paris, he refused, and sent in his resignation. The officers of the garrison called on the duke to express their indignation at some hostile manifestations made against him in the theatre.

13th.—Saldanha communicated to the press, denying any of the designs attributed to him to oust the Loulé Ministry and create a military revolution; that he went to the King to solicit protection for several officers whom he considered to be unjustly persecuted.

Revenue 1868-9, £3,757,808; expenditure £5,120,836. Army: Officers 1,545; Men 16,640. In the Colonies, 8,500 men. Navy 22 steamers (25 sailing vessels, mostly laid up) with 154 guns, and 3,106 horse-power; 36 officers, 3,493 sailors and marines.

About 1834 the family of Brandões of Beira became involved in the fierce factions of Dom Pedro and Dom Miguel. Brother fought against brother, uncles murdered their nephews, and the followers of each house pursued and slew each other with implacable hatred. There was no force able to restrain these excesses, which continued over thirty years. The survivor was the most cruel of all, João Brandão. He was brought to trial and convicted of a horrible series of robberies, intrigues, treasons, and assassinations. He was condemned about the middle of 1869; he appealed, and his fate at the end of the year was not decided. (He was transported).

1868-9.—One hundred and eighteen newspapers had been published, sixty-six of which were political. The "Revolucão de Setembro," formerly most advanced Liberal, now Conservative, had existed some thirty-four years. The "Jornal de Commercio," Liberal, was in its eighteenth year. Many others lived but a short time, because they had no other foundation than personal ambition and speculation. Lately was published the "Correspondence of the Duke of Palmella," by Carvalho; "Dom Miguel em Portugal," by Locia; and the first volume of "Historia da Liberdade em Portugal."

1870.

January.—In the King's speech, he alluded to the fact, that the greater part of the loan of £12,000,000 had been taken up, and the remainder continued to be realised; that the Government would be called upon to resolutely hasten the desired solution of the financial question, by the aid of decisive provisions touching taxation and the sinking fund. The Chamber of Deputies voted the address in reply to the speech; the Opposition considered this merely complimentary, and would reserve active opposition until the financial questions came before them.

7th.—The President of the Council informed the Chamber that the Ministers had tendered their resignation, which the King accepted.

20th.—Chamber of Deputies dissolved; new election ordered for March.

February 18*th.*—It was rumoured that the Lisbon centres of the Carlists and Miguelites were spreading towards the Spanish frontier; also that emissaries had arrived from Spain with large sums of money.

March 13*th*.—Elections took place; there was a majority for the Government.

20*th*.—An expedition to proceed to Macao and Timor, to restore order.

31*st*.—The King opened the Cortes; he announced that a proposal would be brought forward for a reform of the House of Peers; also a bill for establishing Ministerial responsibility; and that the best attention would be given to the grave state of the public finances.

April 11*th*.—Further reinforcements sent to the Zambesi expedition.

17*th*.—The combinations for a new Ministry collapsed; the military and political veteran, the Duke of Saldanha, returned to office, as President of the Council. He was now eighty years of age; his last Presidency of the Council was in 1856. The rural class in Portugal constituted three-fourths of the population; only 139,000 were tenant farmers, while the small proprietors number 419,402.

Rejoicings in Portugal on the death of Lopez (see page 74). The Paraguayan war had affected commercial relations with Brazil; there were great demonstrations of satisfaction, particularly in Oporto and Lisbon. The Brazilian flag floated everywhere; there were works of charity and festivity; illuminations, concerts, recitations, bull-fights, &c. The papers called Lopez a cruel and ferocious dictator, and said that the brave Paraguayans had been tutored to be fanatical slaves by the Jesuits, and that Lopez only dreamt of conquering the surrounding countries.

In March, 1867, the Brazilians, Argentinos, and Uruguaynos entered Asuncion, when Lopez fled. The loss of Paraguaynos was estimated at over 100,000. Early in 1870 the loss to the Brazilians was 168,000 men,

and cost of the war, £56,280,000; loss of the Argentine Republic, 18,720 men, and £9,360,000; Uruguay, 3120 men, and £1,248,000. On the 1st of March, 1870, the Brazilian General Camara wrote:—"Lopez was defeated at Aquidaban, and having refused to surrender, was killed before my own eyes. I intimated to him to surrender when defeated and seriously wounded, and having refused, he was killed."

29th.—Inauguration of the statue to Pedro IV. in Lisbon; there were salvoes of artillery morning, noon, and evening; tribunes erected for their Majesties and others. On uncovering the statue, the troops presented arms, the bands played the Hinno of the Carta, the castle, fortresses, and men-of-war fired 101 guns. The old soldiers of the War of Succession (1826 to 1834), wearing the war medal of "Dom Pedro and Donna Maria," were particularly distinguished. The King bestowed titles and decorations on the old companions in arms of his grandfather Dom Pedro, including several of the 5th Caçadores, of which brave battalion Dom Pedro was the colonel.

END OF VOL. I.

CORRECTIONS AND ADDITIONS.

Page 14, note.—The second Earl of Liverpool was in office thirty, and Prime Minister fifteen, years. He was the incarnation of the worst types of Toryism; constitutional changes meant to him revolution.

Page 36.—The Pedroites were only 5000 against 20,000.

Page 37, line 8.—*After* Lisbon, *add* on the 18th July.

Page 49, last paragraph.—*For* 10th October, *read* 12th August; and for Vigo *read* Lisbon.

Page 70.—A bronze statue is to be erected to Cochrane in Valparaiso.

Page 93, top line.—*For* especially, *read* excepting; *after* frigates, *add* the 'Princesa Real' of 54 guns. Line 12, *before* Vigo, *add* to Lisbon to repair. Sailed again in the direction of Oporto, but finding Sartorius on the alert ran off. Line 17, *after* got under weigh, *add*, and stood off to sea, the supposition being that it was bound to blockade Oporto, some thought.

Page 94, line 5 from bottom.—Hove short for hove sheets.

Page 97, line 10.—*Omit* about the 10th August, and *add* after its first encounter with Sartorius.

Page 154.—Cholera. My friend A. Williams tells me that the cholera only attacked one side of the 'St. Vincent.'

Page 208.—See "Operations of War explained," by Colonel Hamley, 1866; "Military Elements," by Captain E. Walker, 1868; "The Soldier's Pocket-Book," by Colonel Wolseley, 1869.

Page 301.—Martim de Freitas. Sancho II. (died A.D. 1248) was deposed by the Pope in favour of his brother, Alfonso III. The governors at once submitted, excepting Martim de Freitas, of Coimbra, and the

governor of Celorico. Martim de Freitas kept possession of his city until the death of Sancho; he then went and deposited the keys of Coimbra in the late King's tomb. Returning to his city he recognised Alfonso as king.

Page 315, after last line.—An old French soldier's prayer: "Oh, God, do with La Hire in this fight as La Hire would do with thee if La Hire were God, and thou wert La Hire."

Page 409.—Sartorius was presented with the estate of Barroca-Piedade for his services, whence his title. July 1869, was Admiral of the British Fleet.

Page 461, 6th line from bottom.—*After* Portugal, *add*, in January, but had to leave February 17th; he went to England.

Page 464.—The paragraph about Prim is at page 461.

Page 467, 11th line from bottom.—*For* 1867, *read*, 1866.

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